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ACTIVITIES OF EGYPTIAN LEFT

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[The magazine AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI is a publication of the Egyptian Communist Party which is edited by the well-known CP member Michel Kamil.]

CONTENTS

Beirut Leftist Paper Reproduces Party Documents (AL-SAFIR, 17, 18, 21 Nov 80)	1
Writer Sings Praises of Domestic Communist Party (Mustafa al-Husayni; AL-SAFIR, 12 Nov 80)	22
National Delegation Attends 26th Soviet Party Conference (AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI, Mar 81)	24
Local Party Attends West German Communist Conference (AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI, Jul-Aug 81)	34
Twin Communist Parties Issue Joint Statement (AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI, Apr 81)	36
U.S. Aid Programs Seen as Cover for CIA Operations (AL-YASAR-AL-'ARABI, Jun 81)	40
Relations Between Egypt, Israel After Normalization Condemned (AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI, Jun 81)	42
Blame for Factional Unrest Laid on Regime (Salah Ibrahim; AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI, Jul-Aug 81)	46
Communist Publication Quotes Progressives on Move Toward Front (AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI, Mar 81)	50

Report Paints Grim Picture of Domestic Development (AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI, Jun 81)	54
Party Leader Addresses Palestinian, Syrian Militants (AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI, Jul-Aug 81)	66
Party Leader Discusses Resolutions, Results of Conference (AL-HURRIYAH, 18 Nov 80)	68

BEIRUT LEFTIST PAPER REPRODUCES PARTY DOCUMENTS

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 17, 18, 21 Nov 80

/Article: "The Egyptian Communist Party: Documents of the First Conference"/

17 Nov 80 p 11

/Text/ The general program approved at the start of the first conference of the Egyptian Communist Party will present the historic course of the Egyptian national revolution in three parts: one, the revolution before July 1952, two, the revolution of July 1952, and three, the period after the counterrevolution.

This abridged historical review concludes that the course of the revolution before July 1952 "transcended the bourgeoisie's methods of resolving the national issue by negotiating and haggling with the British occupier. The conviction began to take root in the masses of the people that they should undertake armed struggle against the occupation and they imposed this approach in fact in the end of 1951 as a major combat technique in the Egyptian national movement."

It also concludes that the constant deterioration in the economic conditions of the popular masses touched off the class struggle, which began to experience a series of major labor strikes and sit-ins starting in 1946 and involved peasant uprisings--in fact "the economic strikes extended to the ranks of the people working in the agencies of repression themselves (the police strike of 1948 and the constables' strike in 1951)."

From this, the historical introduction reaches the conclusion that a real opportunity would have arisen for establishing a democratic national front at that time, had colonialism and the palace not contrived the plot of the Cairo fire on 26 January 1952, imposed martial law and struck out at the national movement.

"However, the severe blow did not save the alliance between colonialism and local reaction from its oppressive crisis."

This is the crisis to which the July 1952 revolution responded.

In the 23 July 1952 revolution, the Free Officers' Organization managed to seize power in the light of specific subjective and objective conditions in which the class struggle flared up but the political parties which were able to resolve this

struggle on behalf of one of the two basic poles to the struggle were absent. The national and petty bourgeois parties were incapable of standing up to the alliance of colonialism and feudalism, and the weakness and rifts in the vanguard of the working class, the Egyptian communist movement, its alienation from the broad base of workers and peasants and the continuous violent blows which it received from colonialism, the palace and reaction, did not enable working class to do away with this ruling alliance and take power through a people's revolution.

With the occurrence of the July 1952 revolution, a distinctive stage began in the democratic national revolution in Egypt.

The Free Officers' Organization

The organization which conducted and led the 23 July 1952 revolution included, in terms of class composition, junior officers of intermediate and petty bourgeois origins. From the standpoint of political composition, it embodied a coalition of different, indeed contradictory, political tendencies belonging to different political currents functioning in the ranks of the Egyptian national movement before and at the start of the revolution. There was a major bloc of elements with a bourgeois orientation and there were marxist elements linked to secret communist organizations, elements linked with the Wafd Party and other elements belonging to the Society of Moslem Brothers--in fact, it was later discovered that the organization contained elements with suspicious ties to American and British circles.

On the eve of the outburst of the revolution, these elements with their different political tendencies reached agreement on general national goals which were embodied in the six goals of the revolution. With the evolution and accompanying polarizations of the class struggle, the leadership of the Free Officers' Organization, which basically belonged to the national bourgeois current, proceeded to liquidate the marxist and Moslem Brother elements, and the process of class polarization shifted to the ranks of this main bloc itself. The leadership of the July revolution witnessed further liquidations and constant purges through the evolution of the national and social struggle, under the influence of changes in the balance and relationship among local, Arab and international forces.

This phenomenon was most conspicuous, in particular, after the attainment of political independence, when the social struggle among the class groups which had been allied erupted over the response to the question "To whom will this independent nation belong?"

Evaluation of the July Revolution and Its Measures

A lengthy debate arose in the ranks of the Egyptian communist movement, from the time the revolution occurred, over its evaluation and definition of the nature of the power that emerged from it and the economic and social measures it adopted.

The Egyptian communists' positions on this revolution ranged from sound to erroneous ones. These positions changed and were exchanged with the course and development of the revolution.

From the beginning of the revolution to the end of 1952, two positions on the July revolution were crystallized within the Egyptian communist movement. The first was a sound one which supported and backed the national democratic revolution; the other was a leftist, erroneous one which attacked the revolution from the first moment and committed aggression against it, characterizing it as fascism, a military dictatorship or an American military coup.

From the beginning of 1953 to April 1955, the July revolution resorted to prosecuting, imprisoning and detaining communists and other political forces, started to encourage the entry of foreign capital into Egypt, opened the door to negotiation with British colonialism (with which it ended up signing the Jamal-Hyde treaty), and flirted with American imperialism.

These actions by the July authorities led to a rapprochement among the Egyptian communists' positions and a consolidation of their comprehensive attack on the revolution. Dominating the ranks of the Egyptian communist movement was the characterization of the revolution as a military coup or fascism, and the people espousing the sound tendency ceased evaluating the July revolution in terms of their former position, in the course of the fierce general leftist wave which dominated the Egyptian communist movement.

In the stage from April 1955 to the end of 1958, features of a national character of hostility to imperialism gained prominence in the positions the July authorities took (the Bandung Conference, the Czech arms deal, the recognition of People's China, the nationalization of the Suez Canal, the tripartite aggression against Port Said, the prominent leadership role of the July revolution within the non-aligned movement, support for national liberation movements, and so forth). This was all accompanied by the closing down of the concentration camps in 1956.

During this stage, the Egyptian communist movement in general adopted a position of supporting and backing the revolution in general, with differences in tones of criticism of the revolutionary authorities, but it lacked an objective critical study of the erroneous position some communists had taken at the start of the revolution.

In the stage from January 1959 to the middle of 1961, with the increase in tension in relations between the July authorities and the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, the intensifying contradiction between the July revolution in Egypt and the July revolution in Iraq, the faltering Egyptian-Syrian union, and the consignment of thousands of Egyptian communists to prisons and camps, exposing them to the terrors of torture to death and slow physical liquidation, the differences in positions within the Egyptian communist movement reappeared. Part of the Egyptian communist movement readopted the erroneous position which had appeared at the beginning of the revolution and redirected the accusation of treason and subservience to America against the leadership of the July revolution. In addition to this, the July authorities were accused of serving Egyptian monopoly capitalism. Conversely, another segment of the Egyptian communist movement clung to its position on the July authorities, regarding them as a national power representing the interests of the national bourgeoisie in spite of their anti-democratic, violent and wrongful measures against Egyptian communists and progressives.

This position was an extension of the sound one which was adopted at the beginning of the revolution and the position over which the Egyptian communist movement reached unanimity in the period from April 1955 to late 1958.

In the wake of the broad nationalization measures of 1961, there emerged two deviations which had arisen in turn from the single-minded vision of the national bourgeoisie. This vision failed to comprehend the manifestations of the schizophrenic nature of the national bourgeoisie, which sometimes was blind to the negative aspects of the July revolution and its grievous errors and at other times was dazzled by the positive features and great achievements of this revolution.

This all resulted in the Egyptian communist movement's failure properly to act as a mediator in pursuing the program of unity and the struggle against the national bourgeoisie.

While the left-wing deviation described the measures of the revolution as hostile to the people and aimed at serving monopoly state capitalism, the right-wing deviation exaggerated the revolutionary powers of the July revolution's national bourgeois leadership to the point where a segment of it imagined that it was very gradually approaching marxist-leninism and described the measures of the revolution in that period as socialist.

A scientific class-based analysis of the July revolution will of necessity lead to the following conclusions:

1. The July 1952 revolution has been the most important stage in the Egyptian national revolution, because it succeeded in carrying out a fundamental change in the class composition of the higher political force in the country by shifting this power from the hands of a monopolistic feudalistic colonial alliance to the hands of the Egyptian national bourgeoisie (fundamentally the middle bourgeoisie). This revolution enabled the national bourgeoisie, for the first time in the history of Egypt, actually to take exclusive hold of political power. On the other hand, the July revolution, in spite of all its zigzags and fluctuations, succeeded in making big strides in the democratic national revolution and the attainment of many of its missions.

In the national sphere, the revolution seized national and social independence, brought off the British military evacuation, established a national progressive power taking positions hostile to imperialism and Zionism, deepened Egypt's Arab affiliation and supported national liberation movements in Africa and Asia.

In the economic and social sphere, the revolution directed mortal blows against feudalism, deprived it of its political privileges, nationalized the Suez Canal, Egyptianized the banks and foreign capital, directed important blows against numerous segments of the large bourgeoisie (indeed the middle bourgeoisie), made great strides in building an independent national economy founded on a broad modern industrial base, realized an important amount of independent economic development by relying basically on the countries of the socialist world, and established a strong public sector playing an important role in leading the domestic economy.

2. In spite of the importance, scope and depth of the political, economic and social transformations which the July revolution achieved under the leadership of the prominent national leader Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, these measures did not go beyond a national democratic framework, especially since they did not create a radical change in the class nature of production relations in the city and the countryside, did not extirpate exploitative relations and did not close the door to the birth and constant growth of capitalism and the emergence of new bourgeois classes. Agrarian reform, for example, failed to offer a radical solution to the agricultural problem and did not completely eliminate the investments of large close-knit landowners but just contented itself with reducing their size. It did not create a qualitative change in the conditions of poor peasants, agricultural workers and migrant workers. The broad nationalization decrees did not eliminate the basic rules of capitalism, which continued to play its part in the increasing impoverishment of the toiling masses and the increasing enrichment of the bourgeoisie, facilitating the loss of democracy of production in the public sector, technocratic leaders' control of management of the sector through their interlinking interests with private capital, the birth of parasitic activities, the mobilization of the public sector in service of the private sector and use of it as an instrument for achieving further accumulation of capital in the private sector. In another area, the important economic and social transformations which the July revolution realized continued to fail to make political changes of corresponding importance by launching mass initiatives to the maximum degree. To the contrary, the July authorities resorted to practices that renounced democracy and violated citizens' freedom from which no national forces were safe, not even the Nasirist youth and numerous Nasirist elements themselves.

Because of the class nature of the leadership of the revolution, its firm position of hostility toward democracy and popular oversight, and its firm adherence to the monopolization of absolute power, the forces opposed to social progress inside and outside power managed to distort the measures of the July revolution, rally around them, empty them of their progressive content and turn some of them into mere dry slogans. Class groups and segments emerged which opposed the authorities and for whom the appropriate climate was created to grow, develop, then launch an assault to impose a total retreat.

The Egyptian Communist Party: Documents of the First Conference

On 1 May 1975, the establishment of the Egyptian Communist Party, or more precisely the re-establishment of this party, was announced.

It is well known that two communist parties existed in Egypt, the product of a series of unification operations which took place in the fifties among the numerous communist organizations which started in the forties and ended in the beginning of 1958 with the consolidation of the Egyptian communist movement into one party, which soon broke up into two parties.

However, these two parties declared their dissolution in 1964 and 1965, successively, as a result of subjective circumstances and out of a specific awareness that a crisis had arisen in the Egyptian communist movement in confronting the Nasirist phenomenon.

In 1968 marxist organizations and circles started to take form and began to consolidate themselves in the country. Some of them issued a document in 1973 condemning the dissolution of the communist movement's organizations by internal decree in 1964 and 1965, describing that as "a major deviationist blunder." This is a document which the party established in 1975 adopted.

However, the establishment of this party has not yet led to the consolidation of the Egyptian communist movement. In addition to the Egyptian Communist Party there are still other communist organizations, most prominently the 8 January Egyptian Communist Party and the Egyptian Communist Workers' Party.

However, the Egyptian Communist Party remains the greatest and most important of these organizations, in terms of the size of its presence and influence on Egyptian political life and also in terms of recognition by international communism.

This party held its first general conference in Egypt last September; that is the first general conference to be held by an Egyptian communist organization.

The five documents which this conference approved were recently broadcast in Beirut. They are the party program, its bylaws, its organizational report and two working papers, "The National Democratic Front in Egypt" and "Consolidation of the Egyptian Communist Movement."

In the next few days, AL-SAFIR will publish selections from these documents with the objective of presenting them for open constructive discussion among concerned people in the Arab and Egyptian contexts.

One must note an essential reservation in this sphere, which is that AL-SAFIR is aware that the selections it publishes from the documents will not by themselves be enough for a fruitful discussion, because however extensive they might be they remain fragments.

Therefore AL-SAFIR has considered it appropriate to put full copies of the documents at the disposal of people interested in this discussion, so that they may be a more thorough source for the dialogue.

/18 Nov 80 p 11/

/Text/ The section which AL-SAFIR published yesterday on the program of the Egyptian Communist Party concluded, in its analysis of the July 1952 Revolution, that the class nature of the leadership of this revolution and its hostility to democracy and popular surveillance enabled the counterrevolutionary forces themselves to grow, develop then launch an assault to impose a total retreat.

This section, which we are publishing today, contains a review of the development of the counterrevolution and its policies and development and a survey of the popular movement and its development since 1952, ending with a conclusion whose gist is that the overall developments in Egyptian political life that had previously been reviewed demonstrate the national bourgeoisie's inability to lead the national democratic revolution and show that the assumption by the Egyptian

working class of the leadership of the national democratic revolution is the essential condition for the success of the revolution and the guarantee that it will complete its tasks and pave the road toward socialism.

Herewith is the Egyptian Communist Party's review of the course of the counter-revolution.

A. In the Realm of Politics

The first step in the political retreat was the initiative al-Sadat proclaimed on 4 February 1971 in the wake of his meeting with Rogers. Following the May coup, the steps of political retrogression started to follow one another rapidly: termination of the mission of the Soviet military advisors and experts, sabotaging of Egyptian-Soviet relations, the furious embrace of the American solution to the national cause, the ill-starred Jerusalem initiative, the separate peace with Israel which diminished Egypt's sovereignty over its territory and for the first time in its history gave it separate political and military boundaries separated by more than 2,000 /square/ kilometers, abandonment of Egypt's Arab commitments, the severance of Egypt's relations with the Arab countries, abandonment of Egypt's Arab affiliation, the nourishing of regional chauvinism hostile to nationalism, the establishment of a tripartite alliance (Sadatist, American and Israeli) against Arab and African national liberation movements and the revolutions of development countries, conversion of Egypt from a pillar of the struggle for liberation against imperialism to a base for the export of counterrevolution and a tool in the hand of neocolonialism, the provision of military bases and military facilities for American imperialism and their use against the peoples of the region, the mobilization of Egyptian armed forces in service of imperialist schemes, protection of the interests of imperialism in the region, and the maintenance of security to protect American imperialism and puppet regimes (military intervention to thwart the progressive revolution of July 1971 in the Sudan, the fabricated armed clash with Libya, military support for the Sultan of Oman (Qabus) against the people's revolution in Oman, military support for Israel's puppet separatist forces in Lebanon, and so forth).

B. In the Realm of Economics

Under the slogan of "releasing individual initiative," "the return of the free economy," and the opening to international capitalism, the counterrevolution has continued to liquidate the economic and social achievements of the July revolution.

The steps of regression from agrarian reform, the retreat from agricultural cooperation, deprivation of the peasant masses of the fruits of its services, and the return of the rural areas to a quasi-feudal society have followed in succession, and a retreat has been made from industrialization as a basis for establishing the productive base through measures of dismembering the public sector and turning it into a subservient servant of foreign and parasitic capital by eliminating general organizations, offering shares in successful public sector companies for sale, and letting these companies enter into joint projects with international monopoly capital.

The apostate regime has kept handing the keys of the domestic economy over to the world's multinational corporations, restoring the era of foreign concessions and linking the Egyptian pound to the American dollar.

The apostate regime has drowned the country in foreign debts to the point where their balance came to 2 billion pounds whereas the balance of foreign debts in 1970 did not exceed \$1 billion, then jumped in 1976 to \$11 billion. The burdens of foreign debt service in the form of instalments and interest have also leapt to more than 70 percent of the country's total exports, whereas these burdens in 1970 did not exceed 17.7 percent.

The apostate regime has begun responding to the terms of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund regarding the elimination of subsidies on basic commodities, opening the door wide to the growth of parasitic, unproductive activities.

C. In the Realm of Freedom

At the outset the counterrevolution tried to conceal its ugly face with phoney liberal slogans about the sovereignty of the law, the state of institutions and the liquidation of concentration camps. It was compelled, under the pressure of mass struggle, to offer partial concessions in the area of democracy, such as limiting torture, eliminating political isolation, and legalizing political platforms, then limited, restricted political parties. However, the false democratic mask rapidly fell from the face of the apostate authorities. The democracy of 15 May showed its claws and teeth and the anti-democratic regime's essential hostility to the popular masses was laid bare. This was fundamentally embodied in the following:

The brutal unprecedented repression of labor strikes and student upheavals in 1971-75 and the popular upheaval of 18-19 January 1977.

The periodic campaigns of arrests against the national democratic and progressive forces and the fabrication of political charges against adversaries of the regime.

The establishment of massive repressive systems, foremost among them the Central Security Forces, supplied with the most modern weapons and equipment for crushing any mass movement, and the mobilization of a tremendous army of spies, monitors and security agency agents.

The consolidation of absolute powers for the president in the 1971 constitution, enabling him to monopolize adoption of the most serious seminal decisions without reference to executive or legislative institutions.

The arsenal of antidemocratic legislation prejudicial to Egyptian human rights which the apostate authorities have issued subsequently (Law 34 for 1971 on Sequestration, Guaranteeing the Interests of the People, The National Unity Law of 1972, Law 2 for 1977, the Law of 1978 to Protect the Domestic Front, Law 36 for 1979 Amending the System of Political Parties, the Law to Protect Values, and so forth).

The escalating aggression against trade union freedoms and repression of the student movement.

Elimination of the freedom of assembly, organization of demonstrations and the press.

Destruction of parliamentary immunity, the removal of opposition deputies, restriction of the freedom of campaign publicity and the crude falsification of parliamentary elections.

Development of the Popular Movement

Observation of the popular masses' movement since 23 July 1952 will clearly show that the class and national struggle in Egypt has not ceased for a day in spite of all the July authorities' attempts to paralyze it, sometimes by repression and sometimes by co-optation.

The class struggle continued at times to ebb and flicker and at other times to grow and burst forth. The popular struggle continued to endorse the authorities, supporting and backing them, when they adopted decisive positions against imperialism and local reaction and responded to national needs and the realization of the masses' social demands, while this struggle confronted and clashed with the authorities when their positions and policies were marked by vacillation, retreat and intense hostility toward democracy.

The masses of workers and peasants, through their revolutionary sentiments, greeted the newborn revolution and supported its progressive steps of removing Faruq from the throne, advancing agrarian reform, eliminating the royal regime, and promoting Egyptianization and nationalization.

The day the tyrannical tripartite aggression took place against Egypt in 1956, the masses rallied around Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir's leadership in splendid national unity, and the popular masses stood up to the forces of the British-French-Israeli invasion alongside the armed forces. The Egyptian communists played a prominent historic role in leading the armed popular resistance to the occupation of Port Said. However, in exchange, the July authorities' hostility to the popular masses' independent action in general and the independent working class movement in particular led to clashes between these authorities and the popular movement on numerous occasions.

Directly after the July revolution, the newly-emergent authorities met a sound economic strike on the part of workers in Kafr al-Dawwar with brutal repression, unprecedented in the history of Egypt, and executed two of the labor leaders, the martyrs Khamis and al-Bakri, after a military trial in the field.

In the wake of Egyptian communists' protest against the evacuation treaty of 1954 and the demand that political freedom be granted which they made during the March 1954 events, the July authorities intensified their campaigns against the Egyptian communists and other democratic forces and military councils and exceptional courts continued to mete out sentences of hard labor for communists and leftists.

This period also witnessed a clash between the July authorities and the Society of the Moslem Brothers in the wake of the attempt to assassinate President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir; the leaders of the society were executed and thousands of citizens were detained and imprisoned on the charge of belonging to this society.

In the wake of the Egyptian national bourgeoisie's success in realizing political independence and its important progress toward economic independence, it proceeded to spread about the notion of ending its struggle against colonialism, and its secondary contradiction with the working class and the popular masses proceeded to dominate over its main contradiction with colonialism and local reaction.

The dispute between the July authorities and the Egyptian communists and democratic and progressive forces over the democracy of the regime and the trade union movement's independence of the authorities intensified.

The position on the 14 July Revolution in Iraq, a revolution in which the role of the Iraqi working class began to become increasingly prominent, the undemocratic program for attaining union with Syria, and the national bourgeoisie's mad race for the booties of the national revolution, especially after the Egyptianization measures, /were to further such measures/.

The authorities launched a broad campaign of arrests against communists, proponents of peace, trade unionists, leftists, Wafdists and democrats and engaged in torturing them to death in the Abu Za'bal, Oasis and al-Fayyum concentration camps.

When the setback occurred in 1967, it was natural that the class contradictions should erupt in severe form, especially since the defeat revealed the national bourgeoisie's inability to carry out the tasks of the national democratic revolution--indeed its inability to protect national independence itself. The popular masses realized that the defeat was the natural fruit of the negative aspects of the revolution and the non-radical nature of its class leadership. In the ranks of the popular masses, including the bases of Nasirist youth, there emerged the increasing conviction that it was necessary for the people to take their destiny into their own hands.

When the leader of the July Revolution announced his resignation from the presidency on 9 June 1967, the masses of the people burst forth in a determined uprising, declaring their insistence on continuing the struggle, demanding that Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir remain in his position, raising the slogan of radical change and protection of social gains, and standing up to the counterrevolutionary elements which had started to prepare to seize power.

The masses of 9-10 June did not go out into the street prompted by motives of hero-worship of the national leader Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir; rather, they rose up in defense of their nation and protection of its achievements, once they had become certain that the class which had assumed charge of the struggle and monopolized leadership of the national revolution had abandoned the field. The masses of the people imposed on the leadership of the July Revolution the burden of remaining firm and continuing to confront the enemies, and raised their independent slogans.

The 9-10 June upheaval was tantamount to a cornerstone for a new revolutionary phenomenon which imposed itself on political life in Egypt in the wake of the setback: the phenomenon of independent mass movement.

For the first time in 13 years, the popular masses dictated their will to the political leadership, vied with it, seized the reins of the initiative from it, drew it into the proper position, and raised high the banner of continuing with the struggle and adherence to the political, economic and social goals and achievements of the July revolution. In another area, the rays of independent organizational forms began to appear through initiatives on the part of the Egyptian communists, a limited number of whom challenged all the unfavorable conditions and circumstances and re-established their independent organizations. This was tantamount to a historic response to the decision to dissolve the communist organizations in 1965 and a practical condemnation of this deviationist blunder, and it was followed by the emergence of secret marxist contacts as pockets inside and outside the regime's organizations.

The July authorities soon frustrated the masses of 9-10 June in their hopes for requisite comprehensive radical change, showed their inability to transcend their negative features, failed to make use of popular support, and contented themselves with taking limited superficial measures of a conciliatory character, so that feelings of bitterness and frustration and elements of shaken confidence in the spirits of the masses started to grow rapidly.

The reduction of the verdicts issued against the people responsible for the air setback in the 1967 war caused the anger of the masses to erupt, and in February 1968 demonstrations of workers and students erupted in protest against the continued policy of laxity vis-a-vis the requirements of the struggle against colonialism and Zionism and the constant retreats before the pressures of the left.

The July authorities tried to co-opt the popular anger, issuing the 30 March Declaration and determining to rebuild the Socialist Union from top to bottom. However, this statement, and the manner in which it was applied, did not slake the masses' thirst and the popular explosion resumed in November 1968.

In the wake of the death of President 'Abd-al-Nasir in September 1970, the forces of the reactionary right tried to exploit the tremendous vacuum which the disappearance of the leader of the July Revolution had left. The masses became aware of the dangers of the movements of the opposition forces and the rifts among the authorities, and set out to a man to turn the consignment of the leader of the July Revolution to his final resting place into a giant popular demonstration, declaring in a resounding voice the masses' insistence on continuing along the road of the revolution and their rejection of hesitation.

In the wake of the May 1971 coup and the apostate regime's pursuit of its anti-national policy, the organized marxist detachments rose up to oppose the regime and its policies and the political class struggle erupted in serious form; since the middle of 1971, the country has witnessed a series of class and political battles in which the working class has played a growing leadership role.

Labor strikes and sitins in the main industrial centers followed in succession: among the iron and steel workers in July 1971, the workers in the coke plant and the al-Nasr Automobile Company, the shipyards in Alexandria, the private sector workers in Shubra al-Khaymah in 1972, workers in the military factories in Hilwan in January 1975, the uprising by the workers in the Egypt Textile Company in al-Mahallah in March 1975, the public transport workers' strike, the strike by workers in al-Nasr Manufacturing and Equipment Company in al-Mahallah, and the sitin by workers in the Lumber Trading Company. In addition, successive student upheavals occurred in 1972, 1973 and 1975.

The peasants rose up in arms against attempts to expel them from the land and return it to the old property owners against whom sequestration had been lifted (Kamshish, Abu Kabir and Dikarnas).

In the wake of the issuance of the economic decrees of January 1977, a tremendous popular uprising burst forth on 18 and 19 January in which various classes of the people took part and in which the working class played a leading, assertive role.

Although the apostate regime met this upheaval with brutal repression and a series of anti-democratic measures, it failed to silence and stifle the popular opposition which resumed escalating in 1979 in a manner that had had no precedent since July 1952. The masses of the people proceeded to express their opposition to all aspects of the apostate policy; the masses' struggle escalated in particular against the anti-democratic measures and legislation. The opposition to the anti-democratic policy followed by the regime attracted an important segment of Egyptian intellectuals and members of the judiciary, who proceeded decisively and honorably through their club to defend democracy and the masses' freedoms. Rulings by the Egyptian judiciary reaffirming political freedoms followed one another in succession.

The base of opposition to the policy of economic liberalization is expanding rapidly and attracts increasing segments of the productive national bourgeoisie and national technocratic leaders of the public sector every day. Opposition to the Camp David agreements and the normalization of relations with Israel has also started to grow and increase, and opposition has been growing in the armed forces--a matter which explains the continuing liquidations in the military command ranks. In addition, opposition has grown within the ranks of Egyptians living abroad. Thus the camp of popular opposition to the puppet apostate regime encompasses the various political forces in the country, from the Communists to the Nasirists, the Wafdists, religious groups and people of liberal tendencies. The opposition has not been restricted to secret parties and groups but has also embraced a legitimate party, the National Progressive Unionist Grouping, and even the Labor Party, in whose establishment al-Sadat took part in an attempt to establish a pliant opposition as an alternative to the Grouping Party, has increasingly started upping its opposition to the regime's policies, and increasing number of former staff members of the regime have begun to express their open opposition to its policies.

Thus the rays of a national democratic front containing class and political forces with an indisputable interest in thwarting the counterrevolution and carrying out the tasks of the national democratic revolution have started increasingly to flicker on the horizon.

Conclusion

The course the Egyptian national revolution has followed underlines an important scientific fact, the gist of which is that in spite of the important progressive role the national bourgeoisie can play in the first stages of the national democratic revolution, it is totally incapable of leading the revolution to its conclusion, not just because of the social movement which advances part of this class into positions in the large bourgeoisie, with its parasitic nature and its interests commingled with world monopoly capital, but also because the national bourgeoisie, with its various groups, is no longer able to continue to lead revolution. All the objective international and local circumstances stress that by advancing to its conclusion the revolution will mean the triumph of socialism and the termination of class exploitation.

The nature of the tasks set forth before the national democratic revolution in the current period--the period of transition to socialism, where the tasks of national liberation from colonialism are increasingly interacting with the tasks of social liberation from exploitation--demand that the working class rise up in firm alliance with the poor peasants to play an increasing leadership role.

The Egyptian working class must perform this role. It is an appropriate role for it, because it is the class which has provided the Egyptian national movement with most of its effective weapons--the political party, mass organization, mass organization and an integrated political program for the national democratic revolution. Throughout the course of the revolution, the Egyptian working class has also demonstrated that it is the most conscious, most rigid and most self-sacrificing of classes in the field of political struggle and in the areas of armed combat and that it has never taken a class position of a narrow scope, but rather has always put the requisites of the national struggle above its narrow class interests.

Assumption by the Egyptian working class of the leadership of the national democratic revolution is the essential condition for the success of the revolution and the guarantee that its tasks will be completed and the road will be paved toward socialism.

The working class' failure, for objective or subjective reasons, to rise up to its responsibilities, and the national bourgeoisie's adamant monopolization of the political leadership of the revolution and exclusive control of power, in spite of its increasing inability to continue to lead, will result only in one inevitable result, which is:

Faltering, stumbling and apostasy.

/21 Nov 80 p 13/

/Text/ The two sections which AL-SAFIR has published on the Egyptian Communist Party program dealt with a brief critical evaluation of the history of the Egyptian national revolution. This concluded with a descriptive and critical review of al-Sadat's apostasy against the Nasirist 23 July Revolution and the proposition which

holds that this apostasy reveals the inability of the Egyptian national bourgeoisie to complete the tasks of the national revolution and that these tasks can be consummated only under the leadership of the working class.

The program proceeds from this conclusion, to deal with the circumstances and tasks of the Egyptian national revolution, starting with its position vis-a-vis the international situation, in terms of its relations with this situation, summarizing that as follows:

1. The Egyptian democratic national revolution is taking place in an era of transition toward socialism.
2. The major contradiction in the current era exists between the world socialist system and the world imperialist system.
3. The world revolutionary process in the current era will be consummated through combative solidarity among three major revolutionary forces--the international socialist system, the revolutionary working class movement in the advanced capitalist countries, and the international movement of national liberation, in which the working class is playing a growing role.
4. This era is witnessing the fragmentation and collapse of the world imperialist system and a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.
5. Nonetheless, the phenomena of fragmentation and the crisis which world imperialism is suffering from do not in any way mean the elimination of the danger of American imperialism.
6. The contradictions among imperialist countries are becoming increasingly aggravated.
7. International developments underline the decisive role which the world communist movement is playing in the world revolutionary process.

From this, the program moves over to a discussion of "the Egyptian national revolution and the Arab situation." It deals with the Middle East problem, the scheme of imperialism, the main contradiction, the dangers of apostasy, the export of counter-revolution, the victories of the Arab liberation revolution and the faltering of the Arab revolution.

That is what we are publishing here.

The Egyptian democratic national revolution is an inseparable part of the Arab national liberation movement. Therefore, this revolution is influenced by the Arab situation as it influences it, and the liberation of the entire Arab nation from imperialism and Zionism is the indispensable guarantee for achieving, asserting and maintaining Egypt's political and economic independence.

1. Middle East Problem

The Arab-Israeli struggle, in less than 30 years (1948-73), has resulted in the outbreak of four wars in the Middle East region and has produced repeated aggressions against the independence of the Arab countries adjacent to Israel, the violation of these countries' sovereignty over their territory, and the hemorrhaging of their resources and powers.

The developments in this struggle have clearly revealed that the essence and basis of the problem is the Palestinian cause, as it is impossible to build true peace under whose aegis the countries of the region will enjoy safety through the continued refusal to note and pay attention to the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people.

This aggressive Israeli policy proves, in a manner which no longer permits debate, that what stands between the Arab nation and Israel is not a racist struggle, a factional struggle, or even a regional struggle over borders, but is a struggle for liberation constituting an inseparable part of the world struggle against imperialism.

Israel, since the declaration of its establishment in 1948, has constituted:

A bridgehead for world imperialism in the heart of the Arab nation.

An aggressive base mobilized in the service of the strategies of neocolonialism in the region.

A racist settler body which has its own expansionist objectives and designs within the Arab countries.

An abyss of war which is permanently and directly threatening international security and peace.

For all these reasons, the solution to the Middle East crisis has come to constitute a basic link in the vital struggle the Arab liberation movement is waging against imperialism, Zionism and reaction for the sake of economic and social progress.

It will not be feasible to solve this crisis through the Sadatist capitulationist platform, through questionable individual deals, through imperialist Zionist solutions, be they partial or comprehensive, through empty hysterical positions which are content to release resounding slogans or through adherence to perverted solutions which have been transcended by events, such as Resolution 242, whose inadequacy has been recognized by the majority of the world community and which only the apostate regime and its masters in Washington and Tel Aviv still adhere to.

The revolutionary alternative to all these treasonous, adventurous or crooked policies is to formulate a comprehensive integrated Arab strategy:

A strategy which will consciously determine the tentative and strategic goals of the Arab struggle.

A strategy which will with awareness choose the means of struggle to guarantee that these goals are achieved.

A strategy which is able to mobilize, mass and move the forces and human, military and economic resources of the Arab nation, at the forefront of which are Arab oil and revenues and interest from Arab funds which are still to be considered the prime financial force in the institutions of neocolonialism and the international monopolies and their exploitative projects.

The requisite Arab strategy must distinguish clearly between the strategic solution to the Palestinian cause and tactical solutions to the Middle East crisis. It is clear that the entity that has the first, decisive say in determining the optimum strategic solution to the Palestinian cause is the body whose cause it is, the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of this heroic people.

This is because, while the Palestinian cause is a national one, that does not permit the Palestinian people's genuine rights to self-determination to be usurped.

Proceeding from, and out of its commitment to, this notion, our party is setting forth its special conception of the strategic solution to the Palestinian cause:

The establishment of a democratic secular state on all the Palestinian soil that existed at the time of the British Mandate--a state under whose aegis will live Moslems, Christians and Jews as citizens with equal rights and obligations, a state in whose confines there will be no place for Zionism or antisemitism.

However, this strategic solution is a combative long-term demand which can be realized only through the common struggle of all inhabitants living on the territory of Palestine, be they Moslems, Christians or Jews, by all ways and means of struggle, in order to arrive at the attainment of brotherhood among them.

This solution depends on numerous interconnected, complicated international, Arab and local factors and circumstances, foremost among them:

The need to carry out a change in the balance of forces in favor of the Arab liberation movement by liquidating the influence and positions of imperialism in the region.

The need to have a change in the class nature of the leadership of the Arab liberation movement, by having the Arab working class assume leadership of it, and to have socialism triumph in the main parts of the Arab world.

The need to have the democratic movement hostile to imperialism and Zionism grow within Israel itself and to have it coincide and be in solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle in the occupied territories in particular and with the struggle of the Arab liberation movement in general.

The ceaseless struggle to achieve this ultimate goal must not divert the Arab people from the struggle to arrive at direct tactical solutions to the Middle East crisis which can realize the following tentative goals:

Total liberation of the Arab territories occupied since the 1967 aggression through the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from them.

The Palestinian people's exercise of their right to self-determination on their territory and establishment of their independent national state on their territories from which Israel withdraws.

Establishment of the prelude to a real peace in the region.

It is clear that the establishment of a true permanent peace in the various areas of the Middle East cannot be achieved just by eliminating the effects of the Israeli aggression of 1967.

This kind of peace can be achieved only by eliminating the abyss of war and by liquidating the base of aggression itself. This requires:

Elimination of the colonialist character of the state by Israel by eliminating its role as a base of colonialism and a policeman for American imperialism and eliminating all forms of military and political alliance between it and the United States of America.

Eliminating the expansionist settler character of the state of Israel by stopping the emigration of Jews to it, rejecting the statement that it is the nation of all the Jews in the world, stripping it of its expansionist designs in the region, returning the members of the Palestinian people to their homes and giving them back their plundered land and property.

Eliminating the racist character of the state of Israel in order to rid it of dominance by the Zionist movement, eliminating all racist legislation and policies which consecrate discrimination among inhabitants, and implanting progressive democratic rule which will guarantee equal rights for everyone.

Liquidation of this racist aggressive colonialist settler phenomenon does not in any case mean confronting Zionist fanaticism by antisemitic fanaticism, exterminating the Jews residing on the territory of Palestine, or throwing them into the sea.

This task will be realized only by continuing the Arab liberation struggle in which the Palestine Liberation Organization will play a major role and closely attaching this struggle to the battle of other forces opposed to imperialism and Zionism within Israel itself and on occupied Arab territory, principally the Palestinian Communist Party and the Rakah Party, which are fighting a fierce, heroic, escalating struggle against Zionism and its aggressive policies.

The requisite Arab strategy must be based on the foundation of comprehensive struggle against imperialism and Zionism and it must scientifically link the various methods of struggle.

Therefore our party rejects any singleminded views on methods for struggling against imperialism and Zionism, be they views which omit from their calculation the totality of the armed struggle and are affected by defeatist claims on the impossibility of gaining military supremacy over the Zionist enemy and the

impossibility of confronting American imperialism; those which rigidly reject any political solution, clinging to a single solution, the military one, and belittling the political struggle or diplomatic effort; those which confine the military struggle to regular war, ignoring the role the masses of the Arab people must play in the battle of liberation; or those which promote a wrongful notion of popular war of liberation as an alternative to regular war, disdaining the important part the regular Arab armies must play in confronting the vicious Zionist enemy.

The artificial division among the various forms of struggle, or the presentation of one form as an alternative or antidote to the others, imposes the most grievous damage on the Arab liberation movement. Therefore our party considers that regular war, armed popular struggle, popular resistance actions against the Israeli occupation forces, popular uprisings, strikes and sitins in the occupied territories, the struggle against reactionary Arab regimes which are puppets of American imperialism and Zionism, and diplomatic efforts in international circles are all closely joined, interconnected methods of struggle which serve, supplement and support one another. There is a dividing line which separates political solutions of a revolutionary nature from political solutions of a capitulationist imperialist nature. Therefore our party stands against the political solutions which are deceptive formats for treason, capitulation and neglect of the rights of the Arab nation, and stands alongside political solutions as the fruit of our Arab nation's comprehensive revolutionary struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

There is great danger in confusing strategic and tactical goals in an unscientific manner.

Presenting a tactical goal as a final goal which is a substitute for a strategic one means submitting to the imperialist-Zionist fait accompli in the region and falling into the morass of treason and capitulation, whereas adhering to the strategic goal as a direct, urgent goal means feigning unawareness of the objective and subjective circumstances that exist and sliding into a labyrinth of adventures with uncalculated results.

Therefore, our party is opposed to any tactical solution at the expense of the strategic goal and supports any tactical solution which serves the comprehensive Arab struggle to achieve the strategic goal and provide better conditions for this struggle.

2. The Imperialist Scheme and the Major Contradiction

American imperialism has sought recourse in escalating its aggressive plans in the area by declaring the new Carter Doctrine and impudently threatening direct American military intervention to protect American imperialist interests. These schemes concentrate on increasing reliance on the aggressive role of Israel, hastening to establish a tripartite American-Israeli-Sadatist aggressive military alliance, acquiring military bases and facilities in Egypt and other countries in the region, concentrating the American military presence and forming a special rapid direct military intervention force.

In spite of these blatant aggressive schemes which require a united Arab revolutionary confrontation, and in spite of the fact that the major contradiction in the current stage of the Arab liberation movement is the one that exists between imperialism and Zionism and its local pillars on the one hand and the Arab liberation movement as a whole, clarity of vision continues to be lacking to a large degree, the Arab nation continues to be engulfed in the vortexes of side struggles, and the secondary contradictions among Arab nationalist regimes and Arab detachments of liberation have often escalated to the point where these contradictions take precedence over the major one.

The battle of life or death which our Arab nation is waging against imperialism, Zionism and local reaction requires that all detachments of the Arab liberation movement rise to the level of their responsibilities, transcend disputes among themselves, cause joint national interests to prevail over narrow intrinsic ones and get rid of complexes and touchy feelings. It also makes mandatory the unity of national, democratic and progressive forces inside each Arab country and the establishment of the progressive Arab front on a nationwide scale among national and progressive parties, forces and regimes.

3. The Dangers of Apostasy and the Export of Counterrevolution

When al-Sadat's regime's proceeded to strip Egypt away from the front of struggle against imperialism and bring it into the enemy front, that unquestionably constituted a painful blow against the Arab liberation movement, and, now that Egypt has fallen into the circle of imperialist influence and is returning to colonialist subordination, that has constituted the most dangerous rallying point for colonialism in its siege of the Arab liberation movement. One must not view this fantastic action as the conduct of an individual ruler or just an "Egyptian" phenomenon; it is the result and product of class policies which express the interests of the parasitic puppet bourgeoisie. This class segment has started to grow in more than one Arab country. Therefore, the Arab peoples must be alert and bury the elements of apostasy alive in their cradle lest the parasitic Arab bourgeoisies become able to spread about apostasy and spread it to other Arab countries.

In another area, imperialism and Zionism, by alliance and coordination with Arab reactionary forces, are escalating their conspiracies to convulse the Arab nationalist regimes internally by stirring up national, religious and sectarian struggles and by exploiting different aspects of the shortcomings these regimes suffer from, foremost among them the absence of political democracy and isolation from the masses of the Arab people.

Thwarting these conspiracies depends on having these regimes abandon despotic, bureaucratic styles of governance and getting the masses of workers and peasants to participate effectively and actively through their political parties in administering the affairs of the country.

These regimes' adherence to their negative features weakens their ability to confront imperialist and reactionary challenges and eases attempts to co-opt them or eliminate them through direct foreign aggression or domestic apostate coups.

4. The Triumphs of the Arab Liberation Movement

In spite of all the faltering, vicissitudes and convulsions to which the Arab liberation movement has been exposed here and there, it has managed to achieve increasingly greater victories and has been enriched by deep progressive economic, social, intellectual and political notions, thanks to the Arab working class' success, in alliance with the toiling masses and revolutionary intellectuals, in occupying progressive positions in the revolutionary process in the Arab nation. This has been clearly embodied in the revolutionary developments in the Democratic Republic of Yemen, which have resulted in the establishment of the first Arab regime to pursue a platform of true scientific socialism. While the flags of Marxism-Leninism have fluttered over the land of the fraternal Democratic Yemen, the winds of inevitable change have started to blow over the reactionary and conservative regimes (Saudi Arabia and Tunisia), while the isolation of Numayri's regime in the Sudan grows deeper each day. In addition, the Palestinian revolution, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, by waging a struggle for liberation against imperialism and Zionism, has enriched the Arab liberation revolution through important new dimensions, depths and areas of expertise.

In another area, al-Sadat's impudent divisive movement has created an appropriate circumstance for the Arab liberation movement in areas where it did not wish to do so, whetting the awareness of the Arab masses, deepening their hostility toward American imperialism and Zionism in an unprecedented manner and causing imperialism's attempts to push an American-Israeli solution through in the area, draw more Arab countries into the arena of Camp David and link them to the orbit of capitulationist settlements to fail, and imposing an oppressive isolation on the puppet regime in Egypt.

5. The Faltering of Arab Unity

The faltering of the Arab struggle for the sake of Arab unity, the failure of all unificationist formulas which Arab regimes have established and the aggravation of the phenomena of fragmentation and dissension in some parts of the Arab nation cannot be separated from the class nature of the ruling Arab regimes which are taking charge of the process of unification.

The failure of these regimes that have a national bourgeois, tribal, feudal or parasitic character to realize Arab unity may be ascribed to their positions of subservience to imperialism or ambivalence toward it and to the fact that they cause their selfish narrow interests to predominate and pursue nondemocratic methods of achieving unity. Therefore the success of the Arab nation in achieving its unity will be basically contingent on the growing leadership role of the working class in the Arab liberation movement.

Arab unity is not a goal in itself; rather, it is a means for the Arab masses to reach their basic goal, which is to continue the national democratic revolution along the road to liberation and socialism. Therefore the proper position of principle on the issue of Arab unity cannot be one of mere emotional support for any unity formula.

The Egyptian Communist Party is struggling for the sake of Arab unity, which embodies the will and the interests of the masses of Arab workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals and other toilers.

Arab unity with a nationalist content, firmly hostile to imperialism.

With a progressive democratic content, opposed to feudalism and large capital.

Willed Arab unity based on free choice, not imposition or coercion.

Arab unity which is backed by a democratic front alliance containing all national democratic progressive forces, taking into consideration the tangible reality in every country and the objective conditions peculiar to it, acknowledging that other ethnic groups have the right to exist, and respecting their rights.

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CSO: 4504/99

WRITER SINGS PRAISES OF DOMESTIC COMMUNIST PARTY

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 12 Nov 80 p 11

/Article by Mustafa al-Husayni: "Communists, Nationalists, Unificationists, Democrats"/

/Text/ You have recovered, comrades of the Egyptian Communist Party; you have recovered as martyrs and fighting men; you have recovered as fighting men and martyrs.

You have recovered as democrats as well.

This is your first conference in 60 years of struggle.

Sixty years of struggle?

Yes! Sixty years of struggle, 60 years of martyrdom, 60 years of relapse, 60 years of stumbling, 60 years of mistakes, 60 years of correcting mistakes through proper acts, 60 years of achievements that no one can deny.

Sixty years of broken, continuous history; broken history, in which your party was cut off from the masses of its people and its working class, sometimes through force, from the late twenties to the early forties, and, because of what you and we realize was a deviationist blunder, between the years 1964 and 1975.

A continuous history, because, even in the periods when the party was cut off, the Egyptian communists did not cease struggling in the ranks of the national movement and in the ranks of the labor movement, and spreading the idea of socialism by every means and through every way until socialism in Egypt became the dream of our masses, in spite of the viciousness of the counterpropaganda, and until socialist thought became the latent seed in the consciences of all Egyptian patriots.

Sixty years of struggle for the sake of liberation, democracy and justice for every man. The most important thing your first conference is declaring as a result of its lessons today is that the Egyptian communists have always been on the side of democracy for the masses, have managed to be democrats with themselves, and, for the first time, are holding a general conference for their party, perhaps because you have realized, through bitter experiences, that an absence of democracy within the organization, for any reason, for any cause whatever, is a plague which has

given birth to fragmentation, a plague which has prevented review and evaluation, in times when need for it has become intensified--as the prelude to your program points out, when your positions vacillated and conflicted with regard to the July 1952 Revolution in a manner which harmed it, harmed you and harmed the Egyptian and Arab struggle.

It is just to specify that that is not only your responsibility but that it is also the responsibility of the other nationalist parties which have repressed you or been silent about your repression.

You have recovered, comrades of the Egyptian Communist Party, as you, through your first democratic conference, restore the moral fiber to Egyptian national progressive action which has long been absent and which it has long experienced poverty over. You have recovered since you are leading in a democratic manner a conscious extension of the Egyptian national revolution which is inheriting its glories, greeting them and is proud of and enriching its legacy.

You have recovered, as a party "committed to the principles and general rules of Marxism-Leninism, observing the national and ethnic characteristics and the distinguishing features of the Egyptian situation, honoring the historic and revolutionary traditions of our people and nation, realizing the objective needs of the current stage and the horizons of its development."

You have recovered as a party devoid of illusions, seeing a distant horizon for Palestine, a complete, free democratic secular Palestine, seeing a nearby horizon for Palestine embracing the Palestinian people's right to determine their destiny on their national territory, with possession of the legitimacy of leading it and making decisions in its name belonging to its national organization.

You have recovered as unificationist Arabs seeing in Arab unity the masses' road toward liberation, democracy and socialism.

You have recovered as an Egyptian national communist party, seeing that the goal in Egypt today is "establishment of national democratic authority," hostile to parasitic capitalist power, accommodating no segment of this power, and decisively rejecting every illusion or claim on alliance, cooperation or convergence with the existing authorities or any segment of them.

You have recovered as democrats.

Nationalists, progressives and democrats might differ with you, but they are in agreement with you on the essential points, on the issues of the freedom of the nation, democracy and justice.

You have recovered as martyrs and fighting people, you have recovered as fighting men and martyrs.

This is a greeting from the position of an "independent friend."

And it is the prelude to a dialogue.

11887
CSO: 4505/99

NATIONAL DELEGATION ATTENDS 26TH SOVIET PARTY CONFERENCE

Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI in Arabic #29 Mar 81 pp 4, 5

/Article: The 26th Conference of the Soviet Communist Party"/

/Text/ On 23 February, the 26th Conference of the Soviet Communist Party was inaugurated in the Hall of Conferences in the Kremlin. This conference embodies an event of the utmost importance as regards the Soviet Union, the communist movement, international labor, issues of war and peace and international relations between the socialist and capitalist camps.

It is well known that the Soviet Communist Party conference, which is held once every 5 years, is the highest political authority setting out the broad lines of the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union and determining the main orientation on many seminal decisive issues in the international context. Thus the attention of political persons and observers has turned to the Hall of Conferences in the Kremlin where this great event is taking place. This conference has acquired special importance as it is being held in circumstances of grave international tension and in the light of a campaign of grave escalation of aggression led by American imperialism in the Middle East, the Arab Gulf, Latin America and Africa, in an attempt on its part to rearrange matters to its benefit and consolidate its military presence.

Preparation for the Conference

The convening of the conference was preceded by broad preparatory activity covering a period of 8 months. The enlarged party central committee meeting in June 1980 adopted its resolution to hold the 26th conference, set the proportion of representation of conference members at one representative for every 3,350 party members, and determined the conference agenda and the system for holding conferences in sections, regions, provinces, departments and branches of the party in the federal republics.

In addition to the election of conference members, these conferences, which were held in various areas of the Soviet Union, discussed issues of economic and social development, execution of the 10th 5-year plan (1976-80), the resolutions of the 25th party conference, and other matters.

In another area, the draft social and economic program for the eighties (up to 1990), which was presented by the central committee of the party, was presented for general popular discussion. More than 121 million people participated in this discussion. The newspaper PRAVDA, the central committee spokesman, also took charge of covering these discussions and published more than 22,000 articles and letters from readers and more than 1,300 proposals for amendment of the draft.

According to the tradition that is followed, the conference preparation period became an important political occasion in which tens of millions of workers in various fields of material and cultural production at construction sites, government and cooperative farms, factories, and scientific research, education and service organizations undertook to achieve tangible accomplishments in expressing special appreciation for this important event.

The Conference Agenda

At 1000 hours in the morning of 23 February, which corresponds with Soviet Army Day, Leonid Brezhnev declared the opening of the 26th conference of the Soviet Communist Party. The members and guests of the conference stood for a minute of silence in eulogizing the martyrs of the communist and labor movements and the national liberation movement who lost their lives in the period which had elapsed since the convening of the previous party conference.

Attending the conference were delegations from the communist, labor and national democratic parties and other parties and organizations from 109 countries in the five continents. The National Progressive Unionist Grouping was represented by the fighting man Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, secretary general of the party, and the Egyptian Communist Party was represented by Comrade Michel Kamil, member of the party's political bureau.

Comrade Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, presented the conference agenda, which contains four chapters:

1. The report by the Central Committee and the current party tasks in the realm of domestic and foreign policy.
2. A report by the party's Central Inspection Committee.
3. The basic trends of economic and social development in the Soviet Union for the years 1981-85 and for the period up to 1990.
4. The election of the central party boards.

Leonid Brezhnev then presented the Central Committee report to the conference. The report dealt with the Soviet Communist Party's international policies, including cooperation with the socialist countries, the development of relations with the liberated countries, the world communist movement, relations with the capitalist countries, the policy of peace, cooperation and resistance to forces of aggression, the deepening of detente, and the curbing of the arms race. The report

The report then addressed itself to the party's economic policy in the phase of advanced socialism, the social, political and spiritual development of Soviet society, the tasks of the party, and issues of party construction, party leadership, and party ideological, political and educational activity.

On the Situation in Poland

In his report, Leonid Brezhnev stressed strong political, economic, and military relations between the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist system. He pointed to the need for every socialist country to benefit from other countries' experiences in regulating production and management and resolving the issues of the domestic economy. Brezhnev mentioned that the rates of economic growth of the member countries of the Committee on Economic Cooperation (Comecon) in the last 10 years were double what they were in the advanced capitalist countries.

In another area, Brezhnev pointed to the difficulties the socialist countries are facing and said "We are far from painting a canvas of the contemporary socialist world only in brilliant colors. There are also complications in development in our countries."

Brezhnev declared the Soviet Communist Party's position on events in Poland by stating, "In addition to the destructive acts of imperialism, errors and mistakes in domestic policy have prepared the ground to stimulate anti-socialist elements. This is what has happened in fraternal Poland, since the enemies of socialism, who are stirring up chaos, are trying, with support from foreign powers, to direct the development of events toward channels of counterrevolution. As the latest session of the central committee of the United Polish Workers' Party pointed out, in Poland a danger to the foundations of the socialist state has appeared.

"Events in Poland reaffirm the extent of the importance of listening closely to the voice of the masses and struggling determinedly against all phenomena of bureaucracy and administrative tendencies and the extent of the importance of democratic socialist development through activity and the application of a realistic balanced policy in foreign economic relations as far as the party goes, consolidating its leadership role."

New Soviet Initiatives

In the central committee report, Comrade Brezhnev presented a number of new initiatives as regards the situation in Afghanistan and the Middle East as well as in relations between East and West, especially in the realm of strategic arms limitation and reduction of the severity of the tension.

On the situation in Afghanistan, Leonid Brezhnev said,

"Imperialism has launched a real undeclared war against the Afghan revolution. This constitutes a direct threat to the security of our southern borders as well. This situation has compelled us to offer the military aid which the friendly country requested.

"The schemes of Afghanistan's enemies have been stifled and the carefully studied policy which responds to national interests and which the Afghan People's Democratic Party and the Afghan government under the presidency of Comrade Babrak Karmal are applying has strengthened popular rule.

"As for the Soviet forces, we will be prepared to withdraw them through agreement with the Afghan government. Therefore it is necessary completely to stop sending counterrevolutionary gangs to Afghanistan, this must be established in agreements between Afghanistan and its neighbors, and it is necessary to provide guarantees to prevent further intervention. This is the Soviet Union's position of principle, and we will adhere to it firmly!"

The Iranian Revolution and Islamic Slogans

Brezhnev declared, "The Soviet Union considers the Iranian revolution, in spite of its complexities, essentially an anti-imperialist revolution, although domestic and foreign reaction are trying to change this character. The Iranian people are seeking a way toward freedom and prosperity. We wish them success from the bottom of our hearts, and we are prepared to develop good relations with Iran on a basis of equality and reciprocity.

"Recently, in some countries in the East, Islamic slogans have been raised in intensified form. We communists respect the religious beliefs of people who believe in Islam and other religions also. The main point may be summarized in the goals which are manifested by the forces which raise a given slogan. Struggle for liberation can develop under the banner of Islam. Historical experience proves this, including the most recent experience. However, the same experience proves that Islamic slogans are also used by reaction, which declares counterrevolutionary mutinies. Consequently the entire issue may be summarized by the actual contents of a given movement."

The Iranian-Iraqi War

Brezhnev attacked the imperialists' position on the liberated countries and their attempt to take over their natural resources and use their territory to achieve their strategic intentions, relying on the old imperialist policy "divide and rule."

He said "The West is specifically taking these positions on the Iranian-Iraqi war, which has been going on for 5 months. It is a war which has absolutely no meaning at all in terms of the interests of these two countries. However, it is very beneficial for imperialism which is dreaming night and day of regaining its positions in this region. We hope that the necessary conclusions on this issue will be drawn in Iraq and Iran alike."

"The Soviet Union is determinedly calling for this fratricide to end as rapidly as possible through a political solution to the struggle. We are trying to help this in practice as well."

The Middle East Issue

In view of the importance of the Middle East issue and the new Soviet initiative which Brezhnev presented at the conference, we will present the entire text of the report's contents on this subject:

"Let us now deal with the problem of the Middle East. The United States of America has, in an attempt to dominate the Middle East, pursued the road of the Camp David policy, the road of splitting up the Arab world and arranging a separate secret understanding between Israel and Egypt. American diplomacy has failed to turn this separate secret anti-Arab conspiracy into a broader capitulationist agreement, but it has succeeded in something else: a new, growing crisis has occurred in the situation in the region and settlement in the Middle East has been pushed backward.

"What is to be done? We believe that the time has come to bring the issue out of its state of paralysis and that the time has come to go back to a collective, chaste discussion of settlement on a just realistic basis. In the circumstances that are arising, it will be possible to attain that, for example, in the context of an international conference held to that end.

"The Soviet Union is prepared to take part in this sort of activity in a constructive spirit and from the standpoint of good-will efforts. We are prepared to do this in participation with the other parties concerned, with the Arabs (including of course the Palestine Liberation Organization) and Israel, and we are prepared to have such a discussion in participation with the United States of America. Let me recall that we had a specific experience in this regard some years ago, and we are prepared to cooperate with the European countries, with everyone who expresses a sincere ambition to guarantee a firm just peace in the Middle East.

"The United Nations Organization, it appears, can continue to perform a useful role in this entire matter.

"As regards the essence of the issue, we are certain, as in the past, that real peace in the Middle East will demand the elimination of the Israeli occupation from all the Arab territories usurped since 1967 and that the fixed rights of the Palestinian people must be applied to the point of establishing a state for them. It is necessary to guarantee the peace and sovereignty of all countries in this region, including Israel. These are the basic principles. As for the details, they of course can be the subject of negotiation."

Gulf Security

Brezhnev brought to mind the Soviet initiative regarding measures to support peace and security in the Arab Gulf region which he presented during his recent visit to India. He said,

"We have totally different ideas regarding the means for guaranteeing real peace in the Arab Gulf region and the areas bordering on it. Instead of accumulating more and more air and naval fleets, forces and weapons there, we recommend the elimination of the danger of war from this region by signing an international

agreement; by combining efforts and by observing the legitimate efforts of all parties, it will be possible to establish an atmosphere of stability and tranquility here which can guarantee the sovereign rights of the countries in it, and the safety of marine communications and the other communications that link it to the rest of the world."

Relations with the West

Brezhnev's report dealt in detail with the Soviet Union's relations with the capitalist countries in Western Europe and the United States and presented a number of recommendations for improving the international climate, curbing rearmament, and repelling the danger of nuclear war. He said, "The Soviet Union has not tried and will not try to gain military supremacy over the other party, but it will not permit others to get supremacy over it."

Leonid Brezhnev presented a constructive program aimed at strengthening peace, deepening detente and curbing the arms race.

The Soviet Union is prepared to carry out measures of trust in the military field embracing every European segment of the Soviet Union, on condition that an appropriate expansion take place in the area of measures of trust taken by the Western countries. It is prepared to enter into tangible negotiations with all the countries concerned regarding measures of trust in the Far East.

The Soviet Union is prepared to continue negotiations without delay with the United States of America on strategic arms limitation and reduction while preserving all the positive achievements that have been arrived at so far in this field. The Soviet Union is prepared to conduct negotiations on limiting all types of arms.

The Soviet Union proposes an agreement now, specifically, on suspending the distribution of new intermediate-range nuclear missiles to the NATO countries and the Soviet Union in Europe, that is, freezing the current level of this equipment in terms of quantity and quality, including of course the United States of America's nuclear armaments in advanced positions in this area.

The Soviet Union recommends that a high-level international committee be formed comprising very prominent scholars whose purpose will be to show the vital need to avoid nuclear catastrophe, and it recommends the convening of a special Security Council session, in which the senior leaders of member countries of the council will take part, in order to discuss the key to reviving the international climate and preventing the outbreak of war. Perhaps it will be possible for the leaders of other countries to take part in the session. All of these measures will help bring about a major goal, which is to protect peace not just for the sake of the people who are living now but also for the sake of dozens of future generations.

Statement by the Egyptian Communist Party Delegation

The statement which Michel Kamil, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party, made before the 26th conference of the Soviet Communist Party:

Dear Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party;

Dear comrade members of the 26th conference of the Soviet Communist Party;

Comrade leaders of communist, workers', and national progressive parties:

In the name of the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party, we send our combative greetings to you and to all Soviet Communists and the friendly Soviet people, wishing the great party of Lenin and its glorious conference every success in carrying out its giant plans to build the material-technical base for communism, raise the standard of living of the Soviet citizens, and support and protect world peace and the security of peoples.

Comrades:

All the forces which are struggling for the sake of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism are looking toward this conference of yours, considering that it is a prominent new link in the course of man's triumphant struggle to liberate man, and are concerned with it and zealous to follow its activities and conclusions, because the firm internationalist platform the Soviet Communist Party is following has implanted the conviction among citizens, progressives and democrats in all areas of the world that every success the Soviet Union realizes responds to the loftiest interests of the Communist and labor movement and movements of national and social liberation and world peace.

Adding to the importance of the 26th conference is the fact that it is occurring at one of the most dangerous stages through which mankind is passing. Imperialism, as a result of its aggravated crisis and the tilt in the balance of world power in favor of various peoples, is working to create tension in international relations and to kindle the fever of "cold war." It is resorting to nuclear blackmail, implanting nuclear warheads on a broad scale in various areas of the world, pushing the arms race forward with new steps, establishing broad networks of bases, alliances and aggressive military formations, consolidating its fleets and "rapid deployment" forces, and preparing for military intervention, especially in the area of the Middle East and Latin America.

Imperialist circles, especially American ones, find support in the destructive role which the Chinese leadership is playing through its transition to a status of alliance with imperialism and reaction.

Comrades:

The Middle and Near East occupy an important position in aggressive imperialist-Zionist schemes, and the area is witnessing an intensification of the American and Western military presence. Washington is obtaining more bases and military "facilities," is exerting pressure to hasten the establishment of subordinate aggressive blocs in the gulf and the Red Sea, is concluding deals for astronomical sums to provide weapons for regimes which will use them only for repressing the Arab liberation movement, and is striving to inflame local wars, cause the struggles

among national forces to explode, kindle factional, regional and ethnic disputes, encourage Israel to continue and escalate its aggressive activities in southern Lebanon, and provoke the forces of factional hegemony to liquidate the Palestinian people and the Lebanese national movement.

All this is going on through full coordination with local reaction, to which imperialism is assigning an increasing role in the context of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance.

The Camp David agreements and the separate Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty have decisively crowned the Egyptian regime's role in serving the American schemes. This tripartite political-military alliance has become the main source of danger to the national and social liberation movement in the Middle and Near East areas and in Africa. The Egyptian regime is offering military bases for "rapid deployment" forces, is enlisting our army in its service, in effect annexing it to the American military establishment, is officially requesting that it be linked with the Atlantic Treaty, is expressing its readiness to store military materiel, including nuclear and bacteriological weapons, on Egyptian territory, and is carrying out its military adventures and hostile intervention against national regimes and movements. Indeed, Washington is calling on and urging the escalation of its aggressive intervention against the peoples of the region and coordinating with France to support the forces of counterrevolution and joint intervention in Africa.

In confronting the serious dangers that threaten the region, Comrade Brezhnev has presented a gulf security plan which includes the liquidation of all military bases, the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the region, the prohibition of the use or threat of use of force, nonintervention in domestic affairs, respect for the right of the countries of the gulf to their natural resources, and the pursuit of a policy of nonalignment. Our party and the national and democratic forces in Egypt and the Arab world have expressed their support and adoption of this peaceful plan, which is in keeping with the interests of our peoples.

The focal issue in our struggle is to thwart the Camp David scheme. In our estimation, the effective confrontation and the fundamental condition for success are represented by major factors, of which the most significant are to implant and support the unity of all progressive, national and domestic forces throughout the Arab world, forces which are linked by a position of drawing clear lines between the camp of friends and enemies; decisive enmity and challenge to American imperialism and its positions, bases and interests; strategic alliance with the forces of world revolution, headed by the Soviet Union; decisive confrontation of the Israeli Zionist enemy; rejection of all capitulationist American and Western European solutions; adherence to the Palestinian people's right to return, determine their destiny and establish their independent national state under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization; support for Syria's perseverance on grounds that is the main front of confrontation with the Zionist enemy; support for the Lebanese national movement; and frustration of attempts to break the isolation of al-Sadat's regime.

Comrades:

The Camp David conspiracy has come about as the climax of a series of preparatory measures in our country which have involved all aspects of political, economic, social and cultural life. Since the May 1971 coup, the reactionary bourgeois authorities have been striving to liquidate the achievements and gains our people acquired through their hard struggle in the stage of the July national revolution. The reactionary bourgeois authorities have directed their main blow against the state sector, which in the past constituted the base of independent economic development, relying, in this, on what is called the policy of independent economic liberalization, which has led to a decline in the rates of development, an intensification of Egypt's foreign debts, imported inflation, blatant high prices, and the emergence of a parasitic character and monopolistic tendencies in our country's economy.

In the context of these relations, an accelerating process is underway to redistribute national income in favor of the rich at the expense of the poor, the standard of living of toilers and people with fixed income is dropping to the level of actual starvation, and the rate of unemployment and people emigrating in search of work has risen to about 40 percent of the total workforce.

To protect the ruling clique and the interests of its imperialist masters, the regime is resorting to the exercise of the severest forms of repression domestically, relying on an integrated system of repressive laws and institutions and exercise of terror.

For all these reasons, our party's program determines that the existing authorities are totally and finally aligned toward the West and continue to constitute an organic part of the body of world journalism, and consequently the contradiction between our people and the current authorities has become a major one which will be resolved only by the removal of the latter. From this point of departure, our party is trying to constitute the broadest political front of forces with an interest in eliminating al-Sadat's puppet regime while not ignoring the establishment of a strategic class alliance to lead the working class in order to arrive at the elimination of the exploitation of man by man and the construction of socialism.

Comrades:

In spite of the relatively short time period which has elapsed since the restructuring of our communist party, it has now become an effective force in political life, with deeply implanted roots among the masses of the working class and toilers in general. We can assert, without boasting, that no political or class movement has occurred in Egypt in recent years in which our party did not have an influential, leading role, thanks to its sound political plan, the mixture of overt and covert means of struggle, its members' adherence to the state of the toiling masses, the defense of their interests, and the adoption of their legitimate aspirations.

Last September our party held its conference within the nation, in spite of circumstances of repression and prosecution, stressing its ability to transcend

difficulties and challenges. The convening of our first conference represents an important turning point in the course of our party and a tremendous force for forward takeoff for the sake of the attainment of our people's national, social and domestic goals.

Comrades:

Our party, which proceeds from the principles of proletarian internationalism, considers itself a part of the world communist movement and tries to develop its comradely relations with the parties in that movement.

Our party holds great esteem for the glorious party of Lenin, a point which was expressed in the documents of our first conference and the conference delegates' message to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our party will fixedly continue its progress in the policy of defending friendship with the nation of the October revolution and the socialist system and mobilizing other national forces to stand up to the intentions and policies of enmity to the Soviets which the reactionary Egyptian bourgeois regime is pursuing.

History has never known and never will know an enmity to the Soviets which serves national interests. People who are sincerely devoted to the causes of their people can only be friends of the Soviet Union. Unity between true nationalism and proletarian internationalism is the first lesson of history that our people assimilate.

Long live the 26th conference of the Soviet Communist Party!

Long live the Soviet Communist Party!

Long live friendship and common struggle between our peoples!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

11887

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LOCAL PARTY ATTENDS WEST GERMAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI in Arabic #33-34 Jul-Aug 81 pp 7, 8

/Article: "The Sixth Conference of the German Communist Party, Hanover, under the Slogan 'Everything for the Sake of Peace'"

/Excerpts from text/ Under the slogan "Everything for the sake of peace," the German Communist Party held its sixth conference in the city of Hanover in northern West Germany between 28 and 30 May. Participating in the conference were 85 delegates representing approximately 50,000 members, with delegates from 75 communist parties and national liberation movements in attendance.

The issue of peace, and attempts by the United States and some ruling powers in Western Europe, to turn Western Europe into a nuclear missile base, took the lion's share of the activities of the conference and delegations' statements.

From the Statement by the Egyptian Communist Party Representative

With the escalation of the aggressive intentions of world imperialism, especially with the advent of the Reagan administration, our country, specifically, is occupying a position of prominence in the strategy of expanding and intensifying the American military system.

West Germany is the prime ally and the basic European buttress of the Atlantic Pact. Attempts are being made to turn it into an arsenal of nuclear weapons under the slogan of "the program of nuclear modernization," in confronting the opposition of the forces of peace and the pressures they are exerting within the Social Democratic Party itself. The Schmidt-Reagan meeting has produced a demagogic maneuver to promote the American plan in exchange for murky statements of no weight on negotiations to take place with the Soviet Union in the future on arms limitations.

For the first time, the Atlantic Treaty, in its latest meeting (the second week of May), has adopted resolutions that deal at length with the subject of the treaty's activities outside the European context. The statement issued on the (Opote) meeting declared that events outside the scope of the Atlantic Pact might influence "our vital interests," such as exposure of the oilfields in the gulf to invasion and that "the common goals may require that the treaty members offer facilities to the rapid deployment force outside the region" in support of "the vital interests of all members."

Comrades:

These grave developments are not taking place in isolation from the activities of the aggressive American military buildup in the areas of the gulf and the Middle East. The rapid deployment forces have acquired a number of bases in Egypt, Bahrain, Oman, Somalia and Kenya, and, in addition, there are the military presence in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the fleets, and the blocs of military character which the reactionary subordinate regimes are establishing, such as the "Council on Gulf Cooperation" and the plan for a similar alliance in the Red Sea.

Since the signing of the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli peace, Egypt has been turned into a major base for the deployment forces and has become the pillar for the American military structure in the Arab world. al-Sadat's regime has offered the bases of Cairo West, Cairo South, and Ra's Banas on the Red Sea, and discussions are now underway to formalize the American military presence in Sinai under the cloak of "international peacekeeping forces" so that it may become a part of the rapid deployment force, interacting from strategic points from Rafah and Sharm al-Shaykh.

The Egyptian regime is pursuing a policy of supporting counterrevolutionary forces in Africa and the Middle East with forces and war materiel, from Zaire to Oman and Afghanistan, is preparing to invade Libya, and is conspiring to liquidate the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Today this subordinate regime stands alone among all the Arab countries in condemning Syria, which is facing the danger of Israeli aggression, is threatening to cause a comprehensive war to burst out in the region, and is declaring that if a clash occurs that will not affect the process of normalization and development of relations with Israel.

Therefore, the grave, distinctive role which Bonn and Cairo are playing in the schemes of American military construction and the policies of aggravating tension and military adventures are clear, and therefore our party forcefully supports the peace initiatives Comrade Brezhnev set forth in the 26th conference of the Soviet Communist Party to turn the gulf area into a region of peace, hold an international conference to resolve the Middle East problem and hold discussions to limit arms in Europe.

11887

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TWIN COMMUNIST PARTIES ISSUE JOINT STATEMENT

Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARBI in Arabic #30 Apr 81 pp 24, 25

/Statement: Joint Statement of the Egyptian Communist Party and the Sudanese Communist Party"/

/Text/ After intensified consultation between the leaders of the two parties, and with their full authorization, representatives of the two parties held a joint meeting on 28 November 1980 in Khartoum. This took place in a friendly, comradely atmosphere, in the context of the historic relations which the bonds of joint struggle between the two peoples and the two parties have woven and supported.

The joint meeting witnessed an exchange of views on a number of issues and reached the conclusions incorporated in a joint declaration, of which we publish some paragraphs herewith:

Fifth: The two parties reviewed the history of the common struggle between the two parties and recorded that the communists in Egypt and the Sudan were heroes and men who fashioned the slogan "joint struggle." In the face of the slogan of the Egyptian and Sudanese bourgeoisie concerning the unity of the Nile Valley under the Egyptian crown, the Sudanese and Egyptian communists raised the slogan of the joint struggle against colonialism and the Sudanese people's right to self-determination. The two peoples responded to this slogan and considered that it expressed their common interests of struggle against the common enemy. In expression of that, the two national movements joined in solidarity in Egypt and the Sudan in the important events to which the two countries were exposed, the Sudanese and Egyptian national and democratic forces exchanged aid and assistance, common fraternal relations between the labor union movement and leaders in the two countries were supported, the leftwing and progressive press in the two countries opened their pages to the noble Sudanese and Egyptian statements, and the blood of martyrs in Egypt and the Sudan became intermixed in battles of demonstrations and within the walls of prisons. In application of this slogan and in commitment to the international spirit, the communists in Egypt and the Sudan exchanged mutual aid and comradely assistance, and, in the course of the common struggle, formed historic relations of a comradely nature between the two parties.

Sixth: The joint meeting conducted a dialogue on the nature of the revolutionary stage in the two countries, the nature of the regimes existing there, the political,

economic and social program of each and the foreign policy of the two regimes. The joint meeting exchanged views on what is called "the platform of political action and economic integration between the two countries" and came up with the following conclusions:

1. This platform is founded on a base of subordination to imperialism and neo-colonialism and the policy of liberalization they are following, with everything that implies. It is also founded on enmity to communism and democracy, the usurpation of natural, basic rights and freedoms that entails, repression and tyrannization of the working class, the toiling masses and their national, progressive and communist forces and organizations, the raising of the slogan of enmity to the Soviets and all forces of socialism and world progress, and the program of capitalist exploitation and the imposition of its dominance.
2. The "mutual defense agreement" between the two regimes, in the context of the subordination of both to American imperialism and the role of each as an instrument for carrying out the American-Saudi scheme in the region, has, in addition to the mission of protecting Numayri's delapidated, weak regime, a number of goals, among them freezing the policy of diverting the Egyptian army from its basic task, turning it into a regional instrument for exporting counterrevolution, proceeding toward the execution of the "Red Sea security" scheme and preparing to conduct aggression against Ethiopia.
3. The foreign policy of the two regimes in Egypt and the Sudan correspond in essence and in appearance. They are founded on subordination to American imperialism and are oriented toward the establishment of an alliance under its leadership, embracing all the counterrevolutionary forces in the region, with the goal of striking out at and thwarting all the political, social and progressive transformations in it.
4. The parliamentary institutions and the executive agencies in the two countries meet periodically to impart an alleged legitimacy and a false legal character to this reactionary policy.
5. The joint meeting stresses that the two parties are not, in principle, against the platform of economic integration, joint defense agreements and other forms of coordination or consolidation of domestic and foreign policies between Egypt and the Sudan; however, the two parties specify their tangible positions in each case from a clear, specific revolutionary class premise, which is embodied in the question: "In whose hands does the power lie in each of the two countries, consequently which are the class and social powers served by the platform of political action and economic integration, which goals is this platform aspiring to, and will this platform therefore serve or harm future relations between the Egyptian and Sudanese people?"
6. Pursuant to that, the two parties consider that the relationship that exists between the two regimes, which is embodied in this platform, the mutual defense agreement, and so forth, has the overall goal of imposing the capitalist path on the two countries from positions of subordination and neocolonialism, foreign multinational corporations and Arab oil capital and of imposing the imperialist

reactionary alliance's schemes in order to dominate the two countries and the whole region. The two parties consider that the relationship arising from the above-mentioned platform and agreement is unequal, violates the dignity and national policy of the people of the Sudan, obstructs their struggle to regain their natural rights to draw up their domestic and foreign policy, imposes a regime and authority on them they are not pleased with and harms the good neighborly relationship between them and their neighbors, turning their territory into a way station for aggression against neighboring peoples.

7. The Sudanese Communist Party considers that acceptance of this unequal relationship by Numeiry's authorities results from their nature as apostate authorities whose policies and conduct have led to a fatal isolation from their weakness and inability, and therefore from their increasingly deep reliance on foreign support for their protection and survival and their increasing neglect of the independence and national sovereignty of the Sudan.

8. The Egyptian Communist Party considers that the unequal relationship embodied in the platform of political action and economic integration expresses the interests of parasitic Egyptian capitalism, aimed at attaining its interests at the expense of the real current and subsequent interests of the Sudanese people, and that therefore it represents a regression from the notions and national and progressive powers of the Egyptian people and the anticolonial traditions and practices of the era of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. The Egyptian Communist Party considers that the mutual defense agreement is totally opposed to the national interests of the people of Egypt and destructive of their relations with the people of the Sudan and a number of Arab and African peoples.

9. The two parties consider that it is possible in the context of the two regimes that exist now in Egypt and the Sudan to establish an "integration" which is dedicated to the interests of their two peoples and that opening the door to such integration will require the elimination of the existing powers in the two countries and the guarantee of democratic freedoms in them, specifically the freedom of organization, self-expression, formation of parties and even political activity and the like, which will empower the masses to take part in drawing up a national policy and the course and the future of relations between the two countries. The two parties stress the revolutionary importance of the slogan of common struggle and cooperation between the two parties and the revival and expansion of relations between the two parties that that requires, at various levels and in all fields, in an effort to eliminate the regimes in Egypt and the Sudan.

Seventh: The two parties reviewed the policies of the puppet Egyptian authorities bearing on the granting of military facilities and bases on Egyptian territory to the United States and also the authorities' intentions to supply Israel with water from the Nile. The two observed that these policies serve the plans of American imperialism and the Zionist state of Israel and their planning is taking place through full coordination and cooperation with the two of them. The two parties condemned the policy of granting military facilities and bases to United States forces in the Ra's Banas area and other Egyptian territories on grounds that that measure is prejudicial to national independence and Egyptian sovereignty on the one hand and provides an opportunity for the United States' rapid interference forces

to repress national liberation movements and threaten the independence of countries in Africa, the Arab Gulf and the Middle East region on the other. The two peoples in Egypt and the Sudan. Agriculture in the two countries needs more Nile water. The two parties record that this policy constitutes a violation of the will and the rights of the peoples and countries of the Nile River basin and conflicts with their interests.

Eighth: The two parties reviewed the current conditions in the Arab nation and Africa as well as international conditions, and agreed to the following:

1. The two parties reject the platform of separate peace with Israel and they reject all partial and comprehensive capitulationist solutions. The two parties declare their determination to continue the comprehensive struggle for the sake of the liberation of Sinai and all other occupied Arab territories, the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces from them, and the restoration of total sovereignty over them to the Arab countries. The two parties stipulate their support for the various forms of struggle the Palestinian people are waging under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, for the sake of exercising their rights to determine their destiny on their territory and establish their independent Palestinian state on the territories from which Israel withdraws.
 2. The two parties warn of the dangers of the military facilities and bases which have been granted to the United States in Kenya and Somalia, which threaten the independence and sovereignty of the African countries, and the two parties declare their intention actively to participate in every unified activity the national and progressive forces perform in the countries bordering the Red Sea in order to thwart the American conspiracy to turn it into an abyss of international tension. The representatives of the two parties asserted their parties' solidarity with the African liberation movements which are fighting against colonialism and racial discrimination and the two parties support the Ethiopian revolution under the leadership of the fighting man Mengistu Haile Maryam.
 3. The representatives of the two parties expressed their belief in the need and importance of building international relations on a foundation of international detente, on grounds that that is one of the major gains of the international revolutionary movement. The two parties view with deep anxiety the insistence of world imperialism, especially American imperialism, to increase world tension and raise Atlantic Pact military spending, which will threaten to revive the cold war.
 4. The two parties condemn the policy of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, which has played an important role in aiding and supporting the regimes of al-Sadat and Numeiry, in addition to their destructive role in the ranks of the world movement of national liberation, through which they had the goal of destroying and fragmenting their relations with the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union. The two parties stress their condemnation of the divisive role the Chinese leadership is playing in the ranks of the world communist movement.
- /Signed/ The Sudanese Communist Party--the Egyptian Communist Party.

11887

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U.S. AID PROGRAMS SEEN AS COVER FOR CIA OPERATIONS

Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI in Arabic #32 Jun 81 p 14

/Article: "Central Intelligence Operates in Egypt under the Cover of the 'Development Agency'" /

/Text/ The British magazine MIDDLE EAST ECONOMICS has published a secret report issued by the American Embassy in Cairo exposing the failure of the America aid system and the way in which it serves American goals alone, failing to bolster the structure of development in Egypt. If we look at the massive sums which the Americans are offering Egypt, we will find that they are in any case returning once more to American pockets.

The first case: It is well known that what is not spent each year reverts to the American treasury and that the amount of this aid which is spent in Egypt does not amount to more than half of the total, or \$400 million.

The second case: America imposes the condition of buying from American companies, which sell high-priced goods that do not meet specifications, making the aid, in reality, merely aid for the American exporting sector and the companies in it. For example, the Ward company exported a group of buses to Egypt which the Egyptians called "the Carter buses." They were badly made, fell apart rapidly, are a threat to passengers' lives and make a lot of noise and commotion--that is, they are scrap buses. Today Egypt is demanding \$10 million in compensation from that company.

The third case: There are 225 American officials administering the aid in Cairo. They live in luxury, are served by 400 other employees from Washington who receive fantastic salaries (in addition to dozens of middlemen and intermediaries), and all live with one another at aid expense. The American administrators receive one-quarter of the money allotted for aid, meaning that more than \$100 million revert to the pockets of the Americans.

The remainder of the aid is "programmed" so that people with influence, millionaires and officials in Egypt who are linked to America, and not the poor people can benefit from it; while people see the factories, dams and roads the Soviets built in Egypt and the Arab countries, we cannot find a single vital project that the Americans have built in these countries. Indeed, we find the draining and domination of their wealth through their agents. The remainder of the aid is allocated

to these agents and it is through them that the Egyptian institutions are penetrated, especially the media and educational organizations, to acquire information on Egypt and the Egyptians on behalf of American intelligence, of whose agents the aid agency in Egypt contains many.

The Egyptian University today has become the scene of American espionage activity operating under the cover of "the Development Agency," which offers disguised bribes to university professors to work on projects of whose ultimate goals they know nothing. The "Development Agency" has also offered \$10 million to universities in the name of "peace fellowships," stipulating that 1,900 grants are to be given to students to study in America, in addition to the "project to integrate Egyptian and American universities" and numerous projects which have the objective of preparing Egyptian minds in the American manner in order to be the "staffs" on which America will rely to administer matters in Egypt to its benefit.

In addition to infiltration into all the Egyptian ministries and authorities by American advisors, giving them the upper hand in adopting all decisions, relying on their financing of the so-called aid, we find that in the Department of Information and Radio and Television they are concerned in particular with cases of influencing public opinion. In this regard, we might mention that \$2 million have been spent as bribes offered to higher leadership figures in radio and television out of a sum of \$16 million allotted to the family planning program "Look about You" and to publicity for this suspect project, through which America uses Egyptians as guinea pigs by distributing birth control pills that are under tests.

If the new birth control pills succeed, and there are no enormous additions to the Egyptian population, the American companies will market them in their own country, and, if they do not, will sacrifice more Egyptians in more experiments.

The goals of the American aid programs in Egypt have been exposed on the pages of Egyptian magazines and in the university. The report of the first conference of the National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party referred to American domination of the government's institutions under the cover of American aid.

University professors' questions and their doubts about many American projects, especially those which assume a character of theoretical research, are increasing.

11887
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RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT, ISRAEL AFTER NORMALIZATION CONDEMNED

Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI in Arabic #32 Jun 81 pp 9, 10

/Article: "A Year after Normalization: the 'Camp' Agreements Are Dying and the 'Camp' Regime Is Tottering"/

/Text/ We publish herewith basic extracts from the editorial published in the March 1981 issue of the newspaper AL-INTISAR, the organ of the Egyptian Communist Party.

A year has passed since the flag of Israel was raised over the building of the Israeli embassy in Cairo.

Two years have passed since al-Sadat's ill-starred visit to occupied Jerusalem.

During the first year of normalization, the system of monopoly capitalism and its allies in Egypt rounded out all the manifestations of treason and subservience. After abandonment of Egyptian sovereignty over the territory of Sinai, there occurred the surrender of Egyptian oil to the Israeli enemy, al-Sadat's repeated promises and assertions that the water of the Nile will be conveyed to Israel have followed incessantly and Egypt has guaranteed Israeli nuclear supremacy by signing the nuclear weapon nonproliferation agreement at a time when Israel has refused to sign it and is acquiring further atomic bombs. There then occurred the arrival of the American military presence on Egyptian territory, actual acceptance of and dealing with the Israeli settlements and Jerusalem as a capital of Israel, the opening of Egypt's markets to the flow of Israeli goods, and the granting of permission for Egyptian thinkers to be exposed to the racist Zionist intellectual onslaught. In 1 year, 150,000 Zionists have come to Egypt in the guise of tourists, journalists, researchers and students in order to feed and support Israeli espionage networks and activities.

The subject was not restricted to bilateral normalization between the puppet regime in Cairo and the Zionist enemy. Rather, normalization had its dimensions in the international sphere as well, since the puppet regime in Cairo worked tirelessly within the United Nations to prevent a modification in Resolution 242 in favor of the Palestinian people, out of the Sadatist regime's attempt to satisfy its masters in Tel Aviv.

al-Sadat did not content himself with arrogating to himself the designation of representative of the Palestinian people in the autonomy negotiations--indeed, he began trying, out of despair, to demolish Arab consensus and the increasing international recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and started calling for the establishment of a temporary Palestinian government of agents, freely inviting it to have its headquarters in Cairo alongside the Israeli embassy.

The apostate policy in the national and domestic field had its other face in the economic field. The puppet authorities began to think of abusing the country's economic independence and began to liquidate the productive public sector units and sell them to the monopolistic multinational corporations at the lowest price, increasingly linking the Egyptian economy to the international capitalist economy.

In the fact of the growing crisis of the regime, al-Sadat saw no way out of his plight but to escalate the fascistic techniques of repression and deterrence through which he has faced the increasing hatred and vengeance of the Egyptian people. Therefore, al-Sadat's regime has turned the streets of the capital and main cities into mobile barracks for the Central Security forces, and the state's money, which was failing to meet the just economic demands of various classes of the people, began to be devoted to outfitting the police forces with the most up to date repressive systems and equipment, so that the Egyptian police would turn into the greatest police strike force in the third world--all this at a time when the mission of our armed forces in the context of the policies of capitulation were transformed into performing such subordinate civil roles for the bureaucratic system as building bridges and paving streets, or performing subordinate military roles for world imperialism in Chad, Zaire and elsewhere.

However, none of the techniques of repression, tyranny, police terror and media deception have saved, or will save, the regime, deliver it from its predicament, or bring it out of its stifling isolation in the local, Arab or international contexts.

Day by day the pictures of the Egyptian people's rejection of the policies of capitulation follow in succession in all fields.

Day by day the death of the Camp David agreements grows closer, as the people who made it collapse.

Here is Carter, who has turned out as he has. Here is Begin, in the hands of satan. Here is al-Sadat and his regime, destined to fall. Here is the new American administration, heading to go beyond the Camp David formula.

The forms of rising opposition to the Camp David agreements and normalization, which secret and open political parties and mass organizations in the form of trade unions, organizations, cultural groups and religious societies have expressed, do not arise in a vacuum. Rather, they express social forces and class groups of increasing breadth.

Raising the Palestinian flags and burning Israeli publications, conducting a broad boycott of Navon's visit, having professional and labor unions' refuse

normalization with the Israeli enemy, placing the names of the minority that is dealing with the Zionist enemy on blacklists, having our people refuse to travel to Israel in spite of all pressures and inducements, creating a festival of international books, and waging the battle that the Egyptian labor movement has taken up against the policies of liberalization and handing the public sector over as a tasty morsel to world monopoly capital--all these manifestations of mass rejection and resistance to policies of capitulation stress that the hour has come for the puppet authorities.

However, the arrival of the revolutionary moment dictates the ripening of the objective and subjective factors necessary for the success of revolutionary change.

In any event, the phenomena of escalating mass rejection stress a number of important facts, which we must observe and absorb:

First, the base of opposition to the policies of capitulation are increasingly expanding.

The regime's isolation is becoming increasingly aggravated.

Rejection of these policies is no longer restricted to the Egyptian Communist Party, the Egyptian marxists or the Grouping Party alone; rather, the opposition extends to all national democratic forces. Here the Socialist Labor Party, which accepted the Camp David agreements the day they were signed, with a number of reservations, is deciding to join the camp of the people rejecting the treaties of treason and subservience. Here some leaders of the General Federation of Workers who belong to the ruling party are accompanying the broad labor bases in opposing normalization and defending the public sector.

Second, the battle against normalization is a proper crucible for fusing the unity of national forces and ripening front action. The statement issued by a multitude of nationalists demanding the boycott of the Zionist book at the book fair had an apparent front character.

Third, attempts by the government media have failed to lead the masses of our people astray, separate them from the Arab nation, usurp our people's Arab affiliation or divert the national forces from the Palestinian cause.

Finally, the battles of conflict in the recent stage have underlined an increasing solidarity between the political struggle and the class struggle and an increasing role for the working class and revolutionary intellectuals in the arena of combat against the policies of apostasy.

The objective and subjective circumstances for bringing down Camp David and the Camp David regime are ripening continuously. However, our party and all national and democratic forces must concentrate their efforts to hasten the speed of their collapse. In the first place, this will require:

1. A constant raising of the masses' consciousness by politicizing them on the widest scale. This will guarantee that revolutionary action will be in solidarity

with the masses and will not be alienated from people's feeling of it even for a moment.

2. Aware planning and organization by organizing the masses of the people in their national political parties and innovating advanced forms of front action.

3. Stressing and deepening an awareness by the masses of the people of the source of their wretchedness and despair, which are the foreign and domestic policies of the ruling regime and the need to link the national struggle to the social struggle, which is not an easy task, since revolutionary action often suffers from the separation of the national struggle from the social democratic struggle.

Tangible steps along the road to attainment of these tasks have started to appear on the horizon. The rays of front action are progressing with firm strides toward the crystallization, establishment and proclamation of the national democratic front.

The people's consciousness of the irrevocable link between their daily struggles and policies of apostasy and capitulation is being rounded out more and more each day and more and more the masses have started raising questions of importance:

What have we gained from America? What have we received from the initiative? What has the liberalization brought us?

The answer to these questions comes every morning:

More vile inflation.

More voracious exploitation.

More wealth for the rich and poverty for the poor.

In spite of all that, the situation requires greater and greater effort, enlightenment, organization and solidarity.

This is essentially the responsibility of our party and the responsibility of the other national and democratic forces.

Forward, toward greater awareness of the class enemy and the greater exposure of his policies!

Forward, toward greater solidarity on the road to the national democratic front!

Forward, toward a greater struggle for the sake of a national democratic regime!

11887

CSO: 4504/99

BLAME FOR FACTIONAL UNREST LAID ON REGIME

Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI in Arabic #33 & 34 Jul-Aug 81 pp 17, 18

/Article by Salah Ibrahim: "The Latest Factional Events in Egypt: The Role of the Regime in Stirring up the Latest Factional Events in Egypt"/

/Text/ Once again, news of factional strife shook Egypt and the specter of schism dwelt within the ranks of the Egyptian people when the Christians and Moslems in the al-Zawiyah al-Hamra' area of Cairo entered into a dispute characterized by violence, claiming as victims more than 10 deaths and 50 wounded.

This is not the first time that Egypt in the era of al-Sadat has faced the trial of factional strife. The years of his reign have been marked by the outbreak of struggles between Moslems and Christians. That is a phenomenon that Egypt did not witness in or before the era of 'Abd-al-Nasir.

An Early Warning

What al-Sadat underlined in his latest speech in Damanhur was not strange. He tried to lower a curtain of silence over the latest events in Egypt, saying that there were many details he did not yet want to talk about since the matter had been submitted to the judiciary! This was after the events had repeated themselves and the phenomenon had become recurrent during the years of his rule, establishing the regime's role in kindling the fire of disputes between Moslems and Christians.

The statement the National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party had issued before al-Sadat's visit was not a coincidence either: it warned of attempts to inflame the fire of factionalism in Egypt with the goal of smashing the noose of popular isolation around the Egyptian regime, from which the masses had parted company after they had come to see the dangers of subordination to the United States and of offering concessions to the Zionist entity and the concomitant aggravation of economic and social crisis.

In spite of this prior warning statement, the regime and the media did not flinch from trying to fix the charge of stirring up the latest incidents on the Egyptian opposition. Indeed, the matter reached the point where al-Sadat himself led this campaign of vilification, telling the Cairo newspaper MAY that the Communists were behind these events, which they were directing in service of their interests.

However, these charges no longer deceive the masses of the Egyptian people, especially now that the regime has tirelessly striven to repeat them whenever it faces a predicament of rising national opposition activity or exposure of its treasonous platform and its alienation from the masses.

The latest events, and the charges and attacks against the opposition, are stressing this again; they have occurred at a time when the opposition's arms are becoming flexed and the anger of the masses of the people against the regime, its capitulationist policies and practices, and its alliance with the United States and the Zionist entity are increasing.

A Popular Awakening!

The regime has continued to allege that the masses of the Egyptian people support it in its policy and to belittle the importance of the opposition. al-Sadat, in all his speeches, has reiterated that they are a minority. Then the people's festival held recently in Cairo, containing various groups of the nationalist opposition, inflicted a blow on the regime.

In this festival, which was attended by Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, leader of the National Grouping Party, Ibrahim Shukri, the chairman of the Socialist Labor Party, and thousands of Egyptians, cries were raised condemning the Camp David agreements and demanding the fall of the regime and a return to Arab ranks; it was established in a manner leaving no room for doubt that the Egyptian opposition was gaining increasing influence among circles of the masses of the people every day and was proceeding with sure steps toward the establishment of the Egyptian national front.

One can reveal the regime's role in inflaming these recent factional disputes in the light of this popular awakening, especially now that the security agencies' position on the events has been laid bare with the Egyptian minister of the interior's acknowledgment of the position of his men during the struggles that broke out and statement that the police "controlled" itself in order not to hit innocent people. On top of that, there have been the regime's attempts to hide the facts from the people on the spreading of rumors and the stirring up of religious sentiments among Copts and Moslems, increasing the aggravated state of events.

The Era of Fanaticism

This is not the first time the regime has resorted to stirring up factional strife. It has worked hard to fabricate this sort of dispute to cover up its failure to solve the masses' problems and to divert their attention from its capitulationist policy. In fact, at other times it has undertaken to stir up and feed the strife in order to use it as a pretext for striking out at the opposition.

In 1972, which witnessed the student uprising in protest against al-Sadat's reluctance to confront the Zionist aggression against Egyptian territory, Egypt experienced a number of events of a factional nature which reached their peak with the engineering of the fire in the Society of the Holy Book in al-Matariyah. Information at that time revealed that religious societies were behind these events, and proof emerged on the implication of three of al-Sadat's aides who played a prominent role in the May 1971 coup, 'Uthman Isma'il, Ahmad 'Abd-al-Akhir, and Hamid Mahmud, who had formed terrorist extremist youth religious cells within the university with the objective of opposing Christians, Nasirists and communists.

That year, using the excuse of putting a limit to these events, al-Sadat issued what is called the Law on National Unity, Law 34 for 1972, the law which totally usurps freedom of thought, expression, organization and political action in a manner which the laws of no previous dictatorial regime have known, and none of whose articles deal with any factional issue.

The laws restricting freedoms followed in succession after Law 37 for 1972, known as the Law on Freedoms, giving the president the right to impose restrictions on residence, movement, and assembly and to approve or abrogate judiciary verdicts.

This firm system of legislation which was restrictive of freedom has not prevented the rise and development of popular activity. This movement reached its peak toward the end of 1975 with the Hilwan workers' strikes. Throughout 1976, these upheavals were an expression of the Egyptian masses' grumbling over the second Sinai agreement and their frustration over the economic liberalization policy which started in 1974. At that time, which witnessed the escalation of movement among the masses of the people, the regime fabricated factional strife, when al-Azhar presented the draft on the declaration of war against people who have turned from Islam. This is the draft which, in its narrow interpretation, means executing a Christian if he has embraced Islam then tries to return to his original religion.

Striking out at the Opposition

With the start of 1977, the masses of the Egyptian people, on 18 and 19 January, rose up in protest against the rise in prices, and the upheaval spread when the masses of the people raised cries in protest against all the regime's policies. The regime confronted this upheaval with a broad campaign of arrests which involved all nationalist forces and it announced another group of repressive acts of legislation, most important of which was Law 2 for 1977 on protection of the freedom of the nation and the citizen, imposing sentences of hard labor for life on demonstrators.

The masses had hardly unearthed the practices of the regime, which had the goal of putting restrictions on their movements and treating all forms of opposition and protest as felonies, when they were shocked by the episode of the kidnapping and murder of the shaykh Dr Muhammad Husayn al-Dhahabi that was carried out by an extremist religious group, one of the groups which grew and gained strength by encouragement from the regime. This episode was the prelude to other factional incidents. Directly after that there occurred the episode of the burning of the main church in the Governorate of al-Minya, which was carried out by some young people in extremist religious societies, prompting Christian youths to burn the city mosque the following evening. The factional flame of fires and physical attack spread, and these disputes continued until the end of 1979.

This time the perpetration of these factional incidents offered a new opportunity to launch an attack on the opposition, carry out a broad detention campaign and issue another group of repressive laws, including Law 333 for 1978, called "The Law for the Protection of the Domestic Front and Social Peace," which prohibits opponents of the regime from having higher policy-making positions or leadership or from being candidates for membership in local boards, cooperative societies or

boards of directors of trade unions--above and beyond a series of specific repressive laws, such as the Law on Public Sector Employees, the Cooperative Law, or the Publications and Press Law, which, in their totality, give the authorities free rein in these fields and subject the people working in the fields directly to the agencies and men of the authorities.

Finally, al-Sadat crowned these laws with the Law on Impropriety which gives absolute powers to what is called the socialist prosecutor and forms special courts of men from the ruling party to try the party's political adversaries. This law makes all forms of intellectual, artistic, literary, scientific and political activity a felony and is aimed at destroying all movement or initiative with which the ruling party is not in agreement. In addition, the punishments which the law stipulates deprive citizens of political participation, prevent them from joining parties, deprive them of the right to run as candidates for trade union or local boards, unions or authorities, and go so far as to deprive citizens of natural human rights by preventing them from traveling outside the country, limiting their residence or preventing them from residing in specific areas or occupying positions.

None of these restrictions imposed by the regime have managed to prevent the masses of the people from expressing their frustration over promises of welfare and peace. In early 1980, the masses began publicly to declare their opposition to the regime. The Egyptian opposition experienced increasing growth and enjoyed varying degrees of consensus over goals and positions on the regime and its policies. In the same period, a number of factional incidents broke out. Last April al-Minya, Asyut and Alexandria witnessed disputes between Moslems and Christians.

Continued Repression

What is perhaps striking is that this series of factional events has been concentrated in al-Sadat's era. Similar disputes did not occur in the era of 'Abd-al-Nasir, which witnessed a number of broad social measures that embraced the Egyptian people and did not discriminate between Moslems and Christians. The achievements of the Nasirist stage were for everyone, and everyone paid their cost.

However, in the era of treason against the national soil, in the context of the lack of equality among citizens and the monopolization by some people of the country's benefits and achievements, there is no way to continue to rule except by laws of repression and tyranny, the tightening of police seizure of everything, the provocation of disputes, the nourishment of religious extremism, the spreading of dissension and alienation among the ranks of the people, and the directing of accusations against one nationalist group or another.

al-Sadat will continue the same policy, which will be a pretext to strike out at the Egyptian opposition, prosecute Egyptian nationalists and detain Egyptian leftists. It is certain that he will also find a cover in the latest factional events to continue with the policy of repression and the pursuit of capitulation.

COMMUNIST PUBLICATION QUOTES PROGRESSIVES ON MOVE TOWARD FRONT

Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI in Arabic #29 Mar 81 p 22

/Article: "The Front of National Salvation and the Conditions for Building the Front"/

/Text/ AL-TAQADDUM, the newspaper of the National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party in Egypt, is continuing to hold a live, fruitful dialogue among opposition nationalist forces on the subject of the front, the conditions for establishing it, its programs, and the forces which deserve to take part in it. We are conveying to our readers some paragraphs of this vital, important dialogue. The dialogue began with Dr Mahmud al-Qadi, a leader of the National Front Party. Khalid Muhyi-al-Din commented on his appeal and sent out an open appeal for a dialogue. Dr 'Ismat Sayf-al-Dawlah, an independent national opposition leader, responded with an important article on political parties. Dr Ibrahim Sa'd-al-Din, member of the Grouping Party's Central Committee and founder of the Socialist Institute, wrote an article in which he discussed some issues that Dr 'Ismat Sayf-al-Dawlah had raised, and Nabil al-Hilali followed with an article titled "The National Salvation Front--What For, Among Whom and How?" Nabil al-Hilali is standing with 30 of his colleagues today in the defendant's dock, facing al-Sadat's military courts.

The Bourgeoisie's Anxiety over the Liberalization Policy

Dr Ibrahim Sa'd-al-Din, an economist who experienced 'Abd-al-Nasir's experiment in building an independent, liberated national economy, also contributing abundantly to it, describes the positions of some Egyptian and Arab bourgeois segments and groups concerning al-Sadat's policies, saying:

"Important segments of Egyptian and Arab capitalism, even some people who are allied with the United States of America or are trying to coordinate with it, are taking a position of rejecting the attainment of a contemptible peace with Israel, which will consolidate the Zionist state and give it the upper hand in the Arab region. Therefore they reject some of the steps that have been taken, in particular the separate Camp David peace and the normalization that has followed it, and are seeking to obtain better conditions.

"Other segments of Egyptian and Arab capitalism refuse on religious or nationalist grounds to accept the existence of Israel at all and consequently reject any conciliation with the state of Israel. Some of these people are shifting to a

position of enmity toward the United States of America and its aggressive policies in the region as a result of American support for Israel in particular.

"In spite of the Egyptian bourgeoisie's acceptance, in general, of the policy of economic liberalization and policies which are aimed at facilitating capitalist growth, important segments of the upright bourgeoisie feel legitimate anxiety for their interests as a result of the policy of throwing the door wide open to foreign capital, foreign imports, an obvious foreign role in resources, foreign misuse of what is available, blatant corruption in the government, and reliance on massive indebtedness in order to achieve equilibrium between revenues and expenditures. They feel anxiety in particular over what an increase in the severity of class differences could lead to as a result of the government's current policies and the accelerating growth of parasitic groups through speculation, bribery, embezzlement, commissions and other illegitimate practices.

Monopolization of Power

"All opposition political forces, including those that speak for segments of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, also realize where these cries about democracy, respect for the rights of citizens, sovereignty of the law and the construction of the state of institutions have led.

"The authorities' concentration has increased in an unprecedented fashion. The president, who at the same time is the prime minister, chairman of the ruling party, chairman of the Higher Council of Judiciary Bodies, supreme commander of the police authority and supreme commander of the armed forces, alone adopts, without participation from any organization and authority--even those he heads--the most serious decisions related to the country's national rights. He invites foreign countries to use the country's land and waters to serve strategic goals and relinquishes Nile water, or offers to relinquish part of it, without referring to the legislative bodies, as he does in the case of other serious decisions.

"At the same time, numerous rights and freedoms guaranteed by the constitution have been negated by a massive arsenal of legislation restricting freedoms which has been codified in the last 5 years.

"These restrictions are not used, and were not codified, just to facilitate a return to a capitalist society dominated by the Egyptian private sector. Rather, they are used in particular to support the monopolization of power and to protect the group of policies aimed at facilitating the growth and construction of a parasitic bourgeois class that is working in connection with and at the service of foreign capital, although all attempts have led to criticism and opposition, whether they have emanated from individuals or groups of the bourgeois forces themselves with the aim of more properly guiding the growth of capitalism in Egypt, or from forces of the people which essentially reject all the current orientations of the regime."

The National Salvation Front

What for, among whom and how?

Nabil al-Hilali wrote,

"The Grouping's case for opposition raises three questions:

"Unity for what?

"Unity among whom?

"Unity how?

"First: unity for what?

"Each national group has short term and long range goals. It is natural that these groups will agree or disagree among themselves on these goals, but there will always remain a minimum of agreement on short range goals on the part of all national democratic groups.

"Political struggle is different from a steeplechase. Therefore it is out of the question for nationalist groups to transcend revolutionary stages and leap over their short range goals in order directly to strive to realize their long-range ones.

"Therefore we all, in every revolutionary stage, must discover the pressing issue in that stage and determine, in the light of it, the urgent duties which lie on our shoulders and about which we must unify our statements.

"The pressing issue today is salvation of the nation from the policies of the regime and from the infiltration of imperialism and Zionism. The pressing demand today is to bring all honorable nationalist and democratic forces together in a 'national salvation front' which will not have the goal of unifying these forces to struggle for the sake of attaining the long range goal of a given group but will aim, rather, specifically at uniting them for the sake of a short term goal which all nationalist and democratic forces can agree over.

"This is a unity which sets out alternate policies that will guarantee a free dignified life for Egyptians in the light of:

"A politically and economically independent nation which is decidedly hostile to imperialism and Zionism.

"An ethnic nation which constitutes, in fact not in word, part of the Arab nation and strives to achieve Arab unity with a content which is hostile to imperialism and its local buttresses.

"A democratic nation guaranteeing the broadest true political freedom for all political forces.

"A progressive nation guaranteeing the protection and enhancement of the social goals of the masses of the people.

"While the national salvation front's call is for a common struggle for the sake of urgent goals, it does not mean usurping each group's right to struggle separately for the sake of long-term goals.

"Second: unity among whom?

In the light of the current revolutionary stage, interaction must take place among the political forces opposed to the regime's policies on three levels:

"First, strategic alliance, unifying the forces which are in agreement among themselves to preserve not just the short range goals but also the long-range ones.

"Second, different forms of limited temporary agreement with all forces expressing their readiness to cooperate in a partial cause or more, to the extent we wish to and are able to.

"It is most incorrect for enthusiasm over a strategic alliance to lead us to the point of imagining that that can cause us to dispense with tactical alliances.

"It is also most incorrect for zeal over tactical alliances to prompt us to suppose that such alliances alone are the desired objective.

"Tactical objectives, by their nature, are not eternal. This is because they of necessity contain forces which are united by the struggle for short-term goals and are divided by the struggle for long range ones.

"Therefore the context of tactical alliance is not frozen or fixed. It arises within the revolutionary process of extension and contraction.

"It is idealistic for us to imagine, suppose or demand stability in the positions of the parties to the alliance from the beginning to the end of the road, since there will always be political forces and social groups that will separate themselves from the caravan during the journey--indeed will sometimes slip away into counterrevolutionary positions."

11887

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REPORT PAINTS GRIM PICTURE OF DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT

Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI in Arabic #32 Jun 81 pp 16-19

/Article: "Letter from Cairo: To Save National Independence"/

/Text/ The National Progressive Unionist Grouping has prepared an important political document titled "To Save National Independence," which it presented for discussion at the first policy session of the party's first general conference. It held its session under the same slogan, "To Save National Independence," in the period 8-10 April.

The authorities took the initiative of launching a broad campaign on the night of 28 March to arrest some of the leaders and fighting men of the party, and the campaign involved a large number, more than 100, leaders and nationalist and progressive elements. Among the people detained were Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq, the editor in chief of the party's bulletin AL-TAQADDUM; his wife the writer and fighting woman Faridah al-Naqqash, member of the Committee to Defend National Culture; Nabil al-Hilali, member of the Lawyer's Union council and a prominent protagonist of democratic freedoms; Eng Fawzi Habash; the great labor fighting man Muhammad 'Ali 'Amir; and Sabir Zayid. The authorities were compelled to release a number of them after a few days, but the majority is still being detained pending the current trials.

The direct objective of the campaign was to try to prevent the conference from being held; the authorities had been counting desperately on that, in spite of all types of pressure and boycotts against the party. It was also the party's gift and earnest friendship on the eve of the visit by Alexander Haig, the American secretary of state, to Egypt to rearrange conditions in the region and get agreement to have the American rapid intervention forces occupy the bases in Sinai under the aegis of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, as a link in the series of military bases, or "facilities," belonging to the new alliance.

Preparation was made for the new stage, the stage of consecrating the American military occupation and military bases and closing ranks around the protective imperialist treaties in the region, through a flood of new laws and legislation aimed at closing the gaps in the laws issued by the regime of the 15 May coup, whose failure to this day to muzzle the growing nationalist opposition and stifle its voice had become proved through practice. Among these were Law 2 for 1977, which

imposes the penalty of hard labor for life on anyone participating in a demonstration, strike or sit-in; the Law on Impropriety and the Socialist Prosecutor's Court; the Press Law and its disgraceful bill; the Law on suspicious Persons; and the Law on Parties and the State Military Courts of Security.

Rumors spread about Cairo intensely just before the celebrations of the anniversary of the 15 May coup concerning al-Sadat's intention to resort to his customary referendum to stifle the opposition parties which, in his view, had become deeply implicated in "impropriety," as well as to dissolve the current People's Assembly and prepare legislation to amend the law on exercise of political rights, taking the system of election by party lists on the basis of an absolute majority, not relative majority, of party lists, with the objective of getting the government party totally to monopolize the parliament and totally eliminate the opposition. The Consultative Assembly recently gave agreement, as part of this drive, to amend the current system for electing local council assembly members in accordance with this system of lists, by absolute majority, to frustrate the opposition wherever it might be. It is worth mentioning that the local council elections, which took place in November 1979, ended at that time in the victory of a large number of National Grouping Party members in addition to independents. Included in the overall new legislation, which is aimed at stifling the opposition movement, is the conversion of the Consultative Assembly, or the "council of wise men," which is for the most part appointed, into a parliamentary assembly with full powers along the lines of the old Senate or council of prominent men. May God have mercy on the king! Cairo is also talking about a comedy routine with the announcement expected on 1 May of a tangible increase in salaries about which the regime's newspapers and media have started to spread the good news already. This will be tantamount to a bribe to allow these blatantly tyrannical measures to pass through on behalf of Cairo's smart shops, its black market merchants and its plunderers who are preparing to "suck up" this increase on the first day--if they have not already blotted it up before it is announced.

Amendment of the Law on Parties

This wave of "reforms" and hysterical restrictions has affected the Law on Parties. The People's Assembly gave its agreement to the recommended draft of a law amending some provisions of Law 40 for 1977 on the political party system. The amendment concentrates on the addition of two new paragraphs to Article Two. The first requires the chairman of the Party Affairs Committee, the Chairman of the People's Assembly, the chairman of the Consultative Assembly and the socialist public prosecutor be informed of the names of people establishing all new parties so that the people, as represented by their deputies, may, as the draft puts it, be apprised of the names of the founders of the new parties and their political tendencies! Thus the socialist prosecutor will exercise his right to protest, as he has done with the labor unions and societies! Thus all persons committing violations will be uprooted at the source! The amendment also requires that the Committee on Parties review requests to establish new parties within 4 months; if this period elapses without the issuance of a decree of agreement, that will be considered tantamount to a denial of the establishment of the party--that is, the Committee on Parties has the right to oppose the establishment of any new party without giving its reasons!

Tax Exemptions and the Restoration of Properties!

It is always interests--the lowly interests of the ruling classes and groups, which at the same time are voracious and decadent, and behind those, the strategic interests of their imperialist, capitalist and international Zionist allies--that are behind all these "reforms." It was not long before the draft of a new tax law appeared in the morass, totally exempting from all types of tax agricultural activity, which one of the preferred fields of activity of the ruling groups and families and the target of a large portion of their investments and the current operations of plunder, under the title of "self-sufficiency in food" and "development banks," under the protective umbrella of the governing National Party and its monopoly rule. The draft also contains a reduction in the maximum tax to 50 percent from the 90 percent in the old law--in favor of the big millionaires, of course--in exchange for illusory reductions for people with limited incomes. This draft was preceded by a notorious tax ruling by the minister of economy calling for the exemption of taxpayers from all forms of punishment and penalty in exchange for payment of taxes based on the statement presented, without a review of the reliability of the "honor" and "conscience" of the taxpayers! In the same context, a draft law has been prepared declaring all orders imposing sequestration on people and their families and heirs void and eliminating all resultant effects, with the provision that all funds and properties be returned to their owners. On that subject, the law sanctifies an actual situation; most of these funds and properties had already been returned to their owners some time ago, and properties of Israelis are being returned now!

All this that is going on on the local, Arab-wide and international level falls under the category of "threatening domestic independence." Egypt is being reinvaded and reoccupied militarily, politically, economically and culturally. It is handing over its territory, its airports, its markets, its universities and its culture to imperialism and world capitalism, including Zionist capitalism. In such circumstances, the conference of the National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party, which leads the nationalist opposition in Egypt and recently held a conference under the banner "To Save National Independence," acquires the utmost significance. Here-with is a summary of the important report we referred to, which was presented to the conference under the same title:

Our party is devoting its political meeting this year to a focal issue, the loss of Egypt's independence politically, economically and militarily in the context of the Egyptian-Israeli-American alliance and the vital missions imposed by the state of subordination to foreign dominance, foremost among them the establishment of a front containing all forces in our country that are anxious to maintain national independence and see Egypt regain its dignity, status and personality as a country with a pioneering history and combative history with deep roots in the heart of its Arab nation, in the context of its Islamic and African environment and nonaligned countries.

While our party has had the right to conduct a criticism of itself, that is because of its failure to realize that apostasy in Egypt has reached the point it has reached--and what has happened so far is not the end of the journey. It has come to possess characteristics that must be most carefully defined.

First, the dimensions of the loss of national sovereignty.

1. The military dimension.

The authorities are frankly declaring their readiness to give military facilities to American forces on national territory. These facilities have actually been given to America, in the words of the foreign minister, Mr Kamal Hasan 'Ali, on Egyptian air, naval and land bases, in the West Cairo Airport, and the Qina Airport. A base is being built for this purpose at Ra's Banas on the Red Sea.

The president says that what he is giving America are facilities, not bases, that he is prepared to store American weapons in Egypt, and that the government of Egypt is not in need of American forces but can mobilize 1 million Egyptians for the sake of the protection and stability of the region and resistance to the manifestations of chaos that have become widespread there. There is absolutely no mention at all of the fact that granting facilities to America is for the sake of confronting the Zionist enemy; rather, as America states frankly, they are to confront the oil region, in view of the vital interests that represents for the West. Of the Ra's Banas base, the American press has stated that it is the best location in the whole Middle East for confronting the gulf. Thus this base has been erected, at a cost of \$2.6 billion, and Egypt is being asked to pay part of the expenses of erecting it--to serve America's international strategy, not to serve the interests of Egypt. Thus the distinction between "facilities" and "bases" is no longer founded on any basis of reality.

The arms that America is storing in Egypt may include nuclear weapons, especially since Egyptian officials are not divulging what is being stored. This means exposing Egypt to being a target in a nuclear war. The unsuccessful American military operation to save the hostages in Iran took off from Egypt, and the contradictions in the statements by Egyptian officials at that time on the veracity of that were certainly to be explained by the fact that most of these officials--including the prime minister and the minister of defense--were not aware of Egypt's involvement in this operation, which is a blatant example of Egypt's loss of sovereignty over its territory.

The fact is that the proliferating forms of American military presence in Egypt and the repeated performance of joint military maneuvers have imbued this presence with a permanent character, which is not linked to protection of Egypt's security or its higher interests but rather to intervention and aggression in neighboring countries and the service of American strategic objectives of guaranteeing American interests in the region. Therefore, it is directed in the first place at the oil countries and is an extension and assertion of Carter's doctrine on the gulf.

Thus it is clear that providing America with facilities in Egyptian military bases threatens Egypt's foreign security by deepening Egypt's isolation from its Arab, Islamic and African environment--indeed threatens Egypt's security domestically and conflicts with the constitution. America, just by having guaranteed itself a military presence in Egypt, must guarantee a government which is loyal to it in order to defend that presence, and this means intervening in Egypt's domestic affairs and violating Egypt's internal security, not protecting it.

One cannot claim that the character of occupation will be removed from the presence of American forces in Egypt by the fact that the authorities are happy with it and have requested it. The character of occupation was not eliminated from the entry of British forces into Egypt in 1882 by the fact that the khedive demanded the entry of these forces with the goal of striking out at 'Urabi's revolution.

2. The political dimension.

The military presence in Egypt must have its effects on the nature of the political system in Egypt and its political orientations, not just on the Egyptian government's abandonment of the policy of nonalignment and its alignment toward the West, toward America specifically--indeed the most aggressive circles in America. America is being requested to abandon the Vietnam complex and to escalate its confrontation of the Soviets in a manner which exceeds the capacity of the American rulers themselves. Thus Egypt has become a party which is clearly aligned in international struggles, and that is confirmed through its foreign policy, since the government claims to be pursuing a policy in which the peoples of the region will triumph but which only serves imperialist schemes vis-a-vis these peoples. This is clearly apparent in the two most important issues preoccupying the government lately:

First, the issue of Afghanistan.

The government is trying to portray its position as one of protecting Islam against the danger of communism. Nonetheless, it finds no embarrassment in declaring, officially, that it is offering the mojahedin military support and that it is overtly interfering in the domestic struggle which is flaring in Afghanistan against the existing government, without noting that this government has a seat in the United Nations and in the nonaligned movement and has diplomatic relations and exchanges embassies with various countries, including America.

We do not intend to defend the Soviets' position on the issue of Afghanistan. Our party has a position which has been recorded in this regard. However, we can only note that at the same time the Egyptian government is challenging the Afghan government, it is taking a negative position on the issue of Israel's takeover of Arab Jerusalem.

Second, the issue of Chad.

What has happened in Chad is that the legitimate government rid itself of French influence with the support of a number of African countries, among which Libya had a prominent role. We do not intend to defend the declaration of union between Libya and Chad that has been made, but the declaration of union cannot be considered a justification for withdrawing Egypt's ambassador from Chad, for demanding that France intervene in Chad to punish al-Qadhafi or that Egypt coordinate with France and Hissein Habri to resist the legitimate government militarily, or for having the government present what has gone on as a Soviet plot to encircle Egypt--as if it were possible for Chad to threaten Egypt.

Subservience to American imperialism finds a symbol in the domestic situation of Egypt, through the status and influence the American Embassy in Cairo has come to

possess and all the annexes and branches it has. It has become a state within a state, indeed a state above a state, and the American bodies and institutions, especially the American Aid Authority, have spread out and infiltrated into all Egyptian economic, research, educational and informational bodies and organizations and in the field of observing and gathering data. There is no government department that does not have an American expert of one form or another, since this expert has the financing of projects in his hands and his "opinion" ultimately plays a decisive role in determining the course of affairs, so that his presence in this form must be accompanied by different corrupting forms.

3. The economic dimension.

The fact is that dependence on foreign advisors and foreign aid--or, in broader terms, the policy of liberalization, including the subordination to the bodies of the world capitalism, these bodies' supervision over the Egyptian economy, and economic subordination that that entails--are what lie behind the different features of political and economic subordination that Egypt is suffering from today.

Egypt has now come to rely on the outer world, and on America in particular, to provide 40 percent of its food and 78 percent of its wheat. Is it in the power of the authorities, in conditions of this sort, to be independent of America in their decisions? The Egyptian national movement gave warning early on that the issue of economic independence is at the core of political independence. The real meaning of subordination to some country in the economic sense is that one borrows in order to buy at a time when one does not possess the reserves to pay the debts one owes. Thus Egypt's indebtedness surged from \$2.1 billion at the end of 1972, before liberalization, to \$17.2 billion last year. Arab grants and aid do not enter into these debts.

In order to increase Egypt's revenues, the authorities have tried to raise the transit tolls in the Suez Canal, to rely on revenues from tourism--from the Arab countries specifically--and to rely on the savings of Egyptians working in oil countries. However, the Arab tourist revenues have shrunk because of Egypt's isolation and the savings of Egyptians, by virtue of the logic of liberalization, are for the most part being dissipated in the acquisition of imported consumer goods.

To discover additional sources of financing, one has started to depend on miracles, such as the announcement that Egypt has made serious oil discoveries. These statements are not based on reliable information. Egypt produces 29 million tons and consumes 20 million tons a year. The government, in accordance with annexes to the treaty, has committed itself to selling 2 million tons a year to Israel, and exports the rest, 7 million tons, an amount which it would have been more appropriate, in light of Egypt's limited reserves, either to keep in the ground, to guarantee that its price increases, or to use in the form of petrochemicals.

It is worth noting that Egypt's commitment to export no less than 2 million tons of its oil annually to Israel, with no time limitation placed on this commitment, entails extreme risk. In fact, the most dangerous economic commitment is that in exchange for the receipts from the oil, which are estimated at \$500 million, the Egyptian government must buy goods from Israel, which is a permanent link to the Israeli economy and a weapon used by Israel to invade Egyptian markets.

4. Egypt's relations with Israel in the context of its current relations with America and the West.

The conditions of subordination to world imperialism will inevitably leave their imprint on Egypt's relations with Israel and will ultimately end with the Egyptian authorities' submission to Israel's terms. Forty percent of the territory of Sinai is still occupied by Israel--not 20 percent, as the authorities claim.

Israel has the right of oversight over all of Sinai and this is represented by the fact that Sinai will remain indefinitely demilitarized, and consequently deficient in sovereignty, at the mercy of Israeli occupation at any time. There are signs that Israel's withdrawal from the rest of Sinai is no longer a matter that has been settled, even in the event of the evacuation of all Sinai.

The citizens of each country, according to the treaty, will have the right to reside on the territory of the other and to take part in joint projects. The planning is for Sinai to be transformed into a buffer society between Egypt, Israel and the Arab world and to be a subservient society connecting Israel and Egypt, while Israel contributes its settlements, which have actually been established, although their names are to be changed to /those of/ joint Egyptian-Israeli projects. Sinai is being prepared to be the governorate of economic integration with Israel; for this purpose, the nuclear power plant America is to build has been transferred from western Alexandria to the east of al-'Arish in order to produce electricity and desalinate seawater for a common system which is to encompass the Negev and Sinai together.

Thus the presence of the Israeli settlers will continue unimpeded in Sinai, and Egyptian Sinai will remain the hostage of American peace on Israel's terms.

The Israeli presence in Egypt is no longer restricted to Sinai alone. It has been publicized that Israel will have a permanent intelligence base in the heart of Cairo--an item of news the authorities in Egypt have not denied. It is not customary in international usage for the intelligence center of a foreign country to be accepted in the territory of another state, with that state's knowledge, without that being taken as a blatant loss of the sovereignty of the latter. Now it is not the Israelis who are facing the charge of espionage and spying but Egyptians and Palestinians who are being accused of belonging to the FATH organization.

5. The cultural dimension.

The conditions of dependence inevitably highlight cultural dependence, which is represented by a negation of Egypt's Arabhood, indeed of Egypt's Egyptianness, and the adoption of the American way of life as a model to be emulated, although Egypt is not endowed with the productive base that would put it among the advanced societies of the West. Therefore this affiliation has become a perversion, a cause for bringing out numerous corrupt features and deviant values which reflect the actions and ideology of the parasitic classes of society that are cooperating with imperialism, imparting to them, in the eyes of the imperialist countries, the character of a subordinate body, not the character of a partner.

Indeed, cultural subordination has reached the point of opening up culturally and intellectually to Zionism, considering it to be a major key for opening up to the "civilized" world. Zionist books are being sold in Egypt while Arabic books are confiscated, curricula are being reformulated to depict Israel as a friend, not an enemy, and the doors of our universities, institutes and research centers are being opened to Israeli experts in all research areas.

In conclusion, the conditions of subordination whose manifestations, special features and premises are numerous, are the opposite of those which directed the struggle of the Egyptian people to assert their national independence in previous stages:

Instead of liquidating the positions of colonialism economically, politically, militarily and culturally, to the contrary the positions of foreign capital allied with world imperialism and international Zionism are now being developed.

In place of a policy of independence, based on the liquidation of the centers of puppet classes, the development of new parasitical groups is now taking place.

In place of reliance on the forces of the working people, with their workers, peasants and national capitalists, these forces are now being struck down and an independent political movement is being inhibited from functioning.

In place of solidarity with the third world liberation movement, there is isolation from it and the policy of nonalignment is now being relinquished.

In place of unity with the Arab nationalist movement, alienation from it and opposition to it are now occurring and a coalition is being formed to oppose it with imperialism and Zionism.

Instead of relying on the socialist countries' support for the Arab liberation movement, hostility is now being shown to these countries on the regional and international levels together, under numerous guises.

These orientations underline the conditions of dependence which are now being implanted and developed.

Second, domestic Egyptian problems today.

There are items of evidence which betray Egyptian nationalism's deficiency in meeting the challenges of the current stage, and our party must record this most truthfully if we wish to overcome the deficiencies and provide the circumstances for building a national front on firm foundations. One can summarize the most prominent of these items of evidence as follows:

1. The fact that the phenomena of the people's rejection of the government's policy toward Israel is confined to narrow limits. These phenomena appeared in their most striking form on the day normalization was declared, on 26 February 1980, and took form, in the positions of our party and the Labor Party, through statements

by political personalities under the title of "national coalition," and the positions of some professional unions, headed by the Lawyers' and Journalists' Unions and some labor unions.

2. Israeli President Navon's visit to Egypt was another such occasion. Ultimately the visit produced only contacts which were confined to the ruling party, and the masses took a position of indifference toward it. Nonetheless, at the outset the phenomena of rejection by the people did not exceed the limits of a personal rejection or a silent collective one. They gradually rose to a more positive stance, the most conspicuous phenomenon of which was the refusal by the workers of Hilwan to receive him, in response to and under guidance from our party.

3. The masses' reaction to the issue of American military facilities, which has a more serious character; tangible rejection was restricted to a number of writings or party symposia by our party and the Labor Party.

At the outset one must determine that the responsibility for the various aspects of the failure to set off a national movement is in the first place to be borne by the vanguards and aware political forces. This means our party, above others. One cannot absolve oneself of this responsibility by casting blame on the masses--although this does not mean, either, that leaders who avoid playing their role and shedding crocodile tears today because the mass movement has been deficient in taking off are to be excused from responsibility.

The political map of Egypt today underlines the fact that the policy of violating national sovereignty that the government is pursuing is not an object of acceptance, that the opposition is on its way to increasing and is no longer confined to the left--indeed includes forces belonging to the right which have been rendered anxious by the isolation of Egypt--and that the government has failed to realize any of its promises of peace, welfare or stability. In spite of that, the opposition movement has not yet acquired the dimensions of an organized mass movement which is able to put a limit to the government's policy. It is necessary to specify a number of objective factors which influence the gap between the actual state of the opposition movement and what it ought to be:

First, the Egyptian people are for the most part under 30 and have only lived through the experience of the revolution. They have no familiarity with the physical presence of colonial occupation, which left in the early fifties; therefore the notion of "military bases" no longer stirs the mass reactions that it did in the forties. The need to concentrate on this notion, with all the special meanings it entails, stands out, now that colonialism has started imposing it in a devious manner in which it considers it proper to avoid directly provoking the feelings of the masses.

Second, the restoration of a national sense, after every setback that has afflicted the national movement in the history of Egypt, has required hard combative struggle that has taken a certain amount of time to bear fruit. The national struggle to overcome the effects of the 'Urabi defeat in 1882 was not consummated until 1919 and the attainment of national independence. Ridding Egypt of the imperialist presence took a hard struggle and was not consummated until the fifties. Therefore

it is necessary to realize that the dimensions of the current setback entail the struggle of a whole era, with regional and international dimensions, in confronting imperialism, and that its destiny is not confined only to what is going on on the Egyptian stage.

Third, it is also necessary to realize that the Egyptian bourgeoisie is not the bourgeoisie of the 1919 revolution, which fought on behalf of its domestic market, and is not the domestic bourgeoisie which discovered the benefits of national unity and the horizons of the national market after 1952. This bourgeoisie is in defeat today and dominance has been restored to wings of the bourgeoisie that are cooperating with imperialism, including groups that have been enriched by liberalization as well as groups that were defeated by the 1952 revolution and are getting their revenge now. These parasitic bourgeois groups, by their character, feel no ties to the land of Egypt and have no love for Egypt. In their eyes, liberalization is only an opportunity that has been granted for plundering, pillaging, and accumulating wealth by draining off national resources and putting them in foreign banks lest they risk confiscation once again.

It is no longer possible to propound Egyptian nationalism in isolation from the current class composition of Egyptian society, because liberalization has created new social groups of a parasitic nature that is detrimental to Egypt, and they are determining Egypt's orientations today.

Fourth, the corrupt aspects of liberalization are not restricted to the parasitic bourgeois groups but have rather planted pockets whose nature is to engender corruption even in the classes which are revolutionary by their nature. These have the effect of diverting people's attention and turning them from the revolutionary struggle on the domestic and class levels both. Therefore the phenomenon of liberalization has constituted the economic buttress of conditions of subordination, politically and militarily.

The phenomenon of the accumulation of capital from Arab oil countries has coincided with the phenomenon of liberalization, constituting an element that attracts various classes of Egyptian people as a way out of economic straits, as an escape from the political oppression that they face in Egypt, or as an enticement for profitable activity for competent unemployed Egyptians. Egypt has experienced a movement of migration to the Arab oil countries which has reached an unprecedented volume on the part of its skilled labor and educated classes. The emigration might have its positive aspects, but it also has negative aspects in that it offers these ways out as individual ones at a time when confronting the manifestations of corruption demands a collective mass movement. Emigration has also manifested itself as an element which alleviates sharp differences in wealth which the phenomenon of liberalization has underscored and an element which has increased the complexity of dealing with these phenomena which ultimately consolidate the conditions of subordination.

Fifth, the social transformations that the phenomenon of liberalization has brought about have highlighted a political system based on formal democracy and a formal party system in order to give the West the impression that Egypt is a modern "civilized" regime which resembles it in its liberalism. However, Egypt does not

deviate from the absolute powers of the decisionmaker, the authoritarian nature of the ruling party which is described in the so-called "nationwide" press as "the party," and the policy of laws which are not honored. The exceptional measures have been codified by an arsenal of laws restricting freedoms, the most serious of which is Law 2 making demonstrating and striking a felony for hard labor for life, the Law on Impropiety which entails political isolation and the holding of trials before a special nonjudiciary court, the Strike Law and, finally, the Press Law which has consecrated a system of media blackouts whose job is to divert and anaesthetize the masses of our people and keep them in ignorance. The government of institutions has ultimately produced institutions which lack the direct power to act in an independent fashion. What are the People's Assembly, and, after its innovation, the Consultative Assembly, or even the Council of Ministers, but formal institutions? The only institution which pursues the process of forming political decisions in Egypt is that of the presidency.

The authorities, with their formal democracy, might succeed in slowing down the masses' movement by dimming their awareness, by scaring and starving people, and by repressing and terrorizing fighting men, not just by imprisoning them but also and basically by prosecuting them in their attempt to make a livelihood. However, this will be of no use in eliminating the causes of the masses' anger. The masses might be passive on general national issues but they are not passive on the issues of their daily lives. Therefore, the authorities have concentrated on separating the political issues from economic and trade union ones. There is no strike that the masses threaten at their worksite that does not prompt the authorities to hasten to respond to their economic demands, in order to keep them from being linked to the more general political issues which are the source of the malady.

Here is where the error in changing the spontaneous movement of the masses without showing necessary appreciation for organized political action lies. Causing the spontaneous movement of the masses to acquire an organized political nature is the essence of what we mean by "building the front," and it is therefore not just an operation imposed from above, restricted to a coalition of conscious political vanguards, or just an operation which arises from below that is dependent on polarizing the masses around the problem they are suffering from every day--in the first place it means linking the one to the other and creating practical solutions to achieve this linkup, it means raising the masses' consciousness from a state of grumbling about particular problems to one of overall political issues, and, ultimately, it means translating the conditions of subordination in its overall dimensions to its particular expressions as manifested in the economic problems facing the masses. Liberalization, with its economic damage and its conditions of subordination, with its political and military dimensions, are only two sides of the same coin. Although the vanguards' and educated persons' approach to understanding the phenomenon in its comprehensive nature lies its political and military aspect, the nonpoliticized masses' approach to realizing it lies its economic aspect, and it is only when the movement of both parties coincide that the circumstances for building the front will be realized.

The National University--through Expenditures

Studies will begin in the coming academic year what has been labelled the "National University." This is the name that was chosen for the university by the expenditures of children of the upper classes. The new university, as has been announced, will offer studies on scientific and practical subjects that, according to the expression used, will be in keeping with development projects. Studies of the humanities in this university will be prohibited.

The item of news was announced by 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman, the deputy prime minister for popular development and self-sufficiency in food.

It has been noted that the plan for this university has been hanging for years and that it met intense opposition from all university, academic and ordinary circles. The government was ultimately forced to give up following it through, although it appears that the people who have been planning it are determined to carry it out this time.

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PARTY LEADER ADDRESSES PALESTINIAN, SYRIAN MILITANTS

Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI in Arabic #33-34 July-Aug 81 pp 10, 11

/Article: "The Conference on Solidarity with Syria and the Palestinian Revolution: The Will To Persevere Is the Sharpest Weapon for Crushing the Enemy"/

/Excerpts from text/ The Conference on Solidarity with Syria and the Palestinian Revolution was held in Damascus toward the end of last month by invitation of the World Peace Council.

The conference occurred as an expression of the solidarity of the peace-loving forces in the world, the forces of revolution, all Arab and worldwide national liberation movements, democratic forces in Europe, and countries of the socialist system, with perseverent Syria, the struggle of the Palestinian revolution, and the struggle of the Lebanese national movement against brutal daily "Israeli" bombardment and the aggression by the secessionist forces against the heroic Lebanese people.

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din's Statement to the Conference: Our People in Egypt Will Topple the Conspiracy and Return to Their Homeland

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, secretary general of the National Progressive Unionist Grouping, gave a talk at the conference in which he said,

"At the World Peace Council, we stood in unanimity at the presentation of the (Giulio Curi) gold medal to President Hafiz al-Asad in appreciation of Syria's role in struggling and persevering, as represented by its president."

He mentioned, "There is a struggle for peace that has been carried out, perseverance which has taken place, and there is a perseverance which will continue. Therefore we, the proponents of peace, would be happiest if we could give away a peace medal every day and every hour."

He conveyed greetings to the conference from the Egyptian peace forces in general and from a major detachment in it, which has raised the banner of opposing the course of the phoney peace that began on 19 November 1977 and still is raising the banner, with the result that today many banners are being raised along with it. All parties and political forces are standing against the Camp David platform and rejecting it today.

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din pointed out:

"These years our party has offered up 1,118 prisoners whose freedom was shackled for the sake of this noble goal, until the banners of all the Egyptian nationalist, progressive and democratic forces from right to left have been raised and the masks of the government with which it tried to stifle the awareness of our Arab people in Egypt have been stripped away, because our Arab people in Egypt were the first victims of the Camp David agreement and were the people whose independence and sovereignty were violated, whose economy was struck down, sabotaging their welfare, and whose freedoms were restricted. Therefore, we, the vanguard of this people, who bear the historic responsibility, have decided to struggle to change these policies radically and to have Egypt once again become the leader of the Arab course."

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din went on to say:

"While our struggle is against the Camp David platform, and while bringing it down is our main cause in our pursuit of the interests of our Arab people in Egypt, we must, brothers, turn to stand and support all the bulwarks of perseverance and solidarity in our Arab nation. Perseverance and solidarity are not empty words, they are tangible things. Who is it that is persevering today in the face of the Israeli threat? Syria, the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese national movement! Therefore we consider that any talk about perseverance and solidarity that does not stand materially and morally now alongside Syria, the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese national movement is empty talk.

"I say that everyone who talks about perseverance and solidarity must stand alongside Syria, because it is rejecting Israeli threats. The perseverance of Syria, the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese national movement have made the enemy reassess his situation many times over.

"This is the fact, brothers, but another fact which I state to you is that this perseverance and this bulwark are standing beside it in a single trench. Do not forget the Egyptian national movement, which will change the map of the Middle East, because the triumph of the Egyptian national movement will change the map of the Middle East, because it is fighting a vicious enemy which has world imperialism and world Zionism behind it. Brothers: in Egypt our people are struggling and resisting, every minute and every hour, alongside Syria, the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese national movement. Let us travel together for the sake of a free Arab nation and for the sake of a real, permanent peace in our region. Peace and God's blessings be upon you."

11887

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PARTY LEADER DISCUSSES RESOLUTIONS, RESULTS OF CONFERENCE

Beirut AL-HURRIYAH in Arabic 18 Nov 80 pp 28-30

/Article: "Michel Kamil at a Press Conference Announces Important Resolutions of First Egyptian Communist Party Conference"/

/Excerpt from text/ In the great Egypt, in the context of Sadatist terror and siege and in spite of the American, Zionist and Egyptian intelligence services' strong sense of smell, the Egyptian Communist Party, in the midst of this atmosphere, held its first conference in 60 years of vanguard national struggle.

At the press conference held in the Hall of Martyrs at the headquarters of the Lebanese Communist Party, the Egyptian Communist Party announced the results and resolutions of the first general conference and presented an integrated program for saving Egypt from al-Sadat's puppet clique, which has alienated the great Egypt from the forward lines of confrontation with the enemy, placing it in the American-Zionist-Arab rightwing reactionary enemy front.

Attending the conference were a number of leaders of the Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese national movement, progressive and nationalist personalities, and the comrades and brothers Niqua Shawi, Nayif Hawatimah, Abu Iyad, Tal'at Ya'gub, Fawaz Tarabulisi, Taysir Khalid, Salah Salah, 'Ali 'Abd-al-Khaliq, 'Arabi 'Awwad, Karim Muruwah, George Batal, Fu'ad al-Tuhami and the progressive artist 'Adli Fakhri.

The conference was opened by the president of the Lebanese Communist Party, Comrade Niqua Shawi, who stressed that the role and importance of the Egyptian Communist Party lie not only in the historic legacy of its struggle as a vanguard national detachment of Egyptian national action but also in the combative political responsibilities which it has assumed in the current stage in order to confront al-Sadat's betrayal of Egypt's domestic cause and of the Arab national cause, as a betrayal of the glories of the Egyptian revolution of 1919 and an attempt to liquidate 'Abd-al-Nasir's nationalist revolutionary legacy.

2 Years of Preparation

After that, Comrade Michel Kamel, member of the Political Bureau of the Egyptian Communist Party, spoke, saying "In the name of the Egyptian Communist Party, the

party of the Egyptian working class, it gladdens me to give thanks to the leaders and representatives of the Palestinian and nationalist Lebanese organizations that have answered our invitation to take part in this press conference."

After he had described the way the conference was held and the difficult circumstances that surrounded it, he said "We consider the convening of the first general conference of the Egyptian Communist Party to have been an important turning point in its course, because it is a consummation of the ingredients of the party organization and a democratic endorsement of it. The convening of the first conference of our party was preceded by extensive preparatory activities and fruitful discussions which went on for about 2 years and took place in party meetings and on the pages of the party's organization magazine. In the light of the conclusions of this continuing intellectual dialogue, the party's political bureau endorsed the draft party documents which subsequently constituted this conference's agenda. These drafts are:

"1. The party program and bylaws.

"2. The organization report on the achievements of the party and scope for its development.

"3. A report on unity with other marxist detachments.

"4. A report on front activity in the current stage.

"5. Some organizational procedures.

"Our party has been concerned to present the draft programs to the various allied political forces and has presented the report on unity to the other Egyptian marxist detachments.

"The conference adopted a number of general resolutions, such as greetings to the party's martyrs, the launching of an appeal to the marxist detachments to achieve unity in the context of the party, and a call to all national democratic forces in Egypt for the sake of the establishment of a national democratic front. The conference also hailed the establishment of a national democratic front and sent letters to national movements in the world, foremost among them the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and a letter of thanks to the party's leadership committee abroad for its role."

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